Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia

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ROMAN CITIES IN ITALY AND DALMATIA

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IN
ITALY AND DALMATIA

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PROLOGUE

To know Rome well you must go elsewhere. This would not be true of Greece, ruled by individualism; but Rome with her tenacious traditions, her pervasive and reconstructive imperialism, her unalterable plan of stamping her impress wherever she set foot, Rome both mirrored the cities from which she sprang and was mirrored in each of her colonies. The early cities of Latium and Etruria with which she was surrounded not only furnished the elements out of which her civilization was constituted but for several centuries developed along parallel lines with her, and kept in touch with her, so that we can logically turn to their ruins to fill in the gaps in Rome itself and to recreate the atmosphere of the drama of early Roman history. Then, even closer was the unity of her colonial system: in each colony the sacred *pomerium* line around town and territory, the laws and organization, the memorial arch, the forum and Capitoline temple, reproduced the archetypes of the mother city. Even her seven hills, her four regions, the

elevated site of her Capitol were copied as faithfully as local conditions allowed.

A series of composite pictures, made from the best-preserved buildings of these early contemporary cities and of the colonies of Rome sent out at various times, would give an idea not only of ancient Italy but of the Rome of each successive epoch, such as Rome herself, in her mutilated state, is now powerless to conjure. We need these pictures. Livy is vivid reading, but he gives us only an indirect vision, and in the ruins of Rome the concrete realities for the seven centuries before Augustus are so fragmentary and few as to give us little to grasp; and then, after all, a large part of the activities of Rome were outside of Rome.

Should we sum up in historic order what is left in Rome what would it amount to, compared with what we can find outside Rome of the same kind? The early tombs found in the forum, on the Palatine, Esquiline, Quirinal and elsewhere cannot compare in numbers, wealth or extent of time to the similar material in the necropoli of Alba, Praeneste, Falerii, Narce, Caere, Veii, Vetulonia and other cities, from which we can deduce what the necropoli of Rome originally contained in the royal and early republican centuries, and consequently what the early Romans

wore, used and decorated themselves and their houses with, what were their religious rites and their customs. For the original form and use of the domical and vaulted Roman constructions so important for the origins of the great imperial style as expressed in the Pantheon, the Baths of Diocletian and the Basilica of Constantine, and of which in Rome itself hardly anything is left but the Cloaca and the "Mamertine prison," we can turn to dozens of works at Praeneste, Veii, Vetulonia, Cortona, Signia, Norba, Perugia, Alsium, Caere, Vulci, Quinto Fiorentino and other Etruscan and Latin cities.

We know that the early town of Rome was surrounded by the *fossa Quiritium* and an earthen rampart, of which no traces remain: but we can see what it must have been by going to near-by Antemnae. To complete our picture of the stone walls that once probably surrounded the Palatine, or the later wide circuit of the walls popularly attributed to Servius Tullius, with their mounds and fosses, their towers and gates, we can make use of dozens of wall circuits in Etruria, Umbria, Latium and further south. From Ascoli we can reconstruct the double archway of the Porta Capena, the Porta Carmentalis and even the Porta Trigemina; from Aquinum, the commoner type of single city gate; from

Spoleto the early memorial arch like that of the Fabii.

We imagine the founders of Rome to have lived in circular or oval wattled huts, whose types were perpetuated in the sacred huts of Faustulus or Romulus, so often piously renovated, and symbolized in the temple of Vesta. Its actual form is reproduced for us in the contemporary earthen cabin-urns found in Rome itself and, in far greater numbers, in the earliest tombs of Alba, Corneto, Vetulonia and Bizentium.

If we want to visualize the houses that the Romans lived in when they reached a higher grade of culture under the Tarquins, or when they rebuilt the city after the Gallic fire, we know that they were then of the square Etruscan type with central atrium and there is no difficulty whatever in reconstituting them in every detail of form and structure if we visit some of the Etruscan chamber-tombs. The houses of the living were exactly reproduced in the houses of the dead, and provided with corresponding furniture, utensils and ornaments. Rome itself furnished hardly a bit of material for such a reconstruction.

If passing from the civil and private structures to the religious architecture of the early period, we attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the

early Roman shrines and especially of the vanished temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as built by the Tarquins, with polychromy, terra cotta reliefs and figures, we do not need to rely merely on the texts of Livy and Dionysius. The temples discovered at Satricum, Alba Fucens, Norba, Falerii and Aletrium, at Luna and Telamon, allow us to handle actual remains of sacred structures dating from the VIth to the IInd century B.C. Even for the later days of the republic when Hellenistic architecture replaced the earlier cruder style and Rome herself can still show some fine examples, these can be supplemented by equally beautiful temples at Cori, Tivoli and Palestrina.

After this period Rome has more to offer. Yet the curiously well-preserved forum at Assisi, of the IInd or IIIrd century B.C. is suggestive for a reconstruction of some features of the vanished Roman forum of the Republic, before the building of the basilicas. At this very time, Rome was developing a simple but impressive form of utilitarian architecture for public structures, in tufa, peperino and travertine, which is very typical of Roman characteristics, untouched by Hellenism. In and near Rome it is represented mainly by the badly mutilated Tabularium on the Capitol, the Mulvian bridge,

the Ponte di Nona and the Marcia aqueduct. Of what it was capable and what it had made of the external appearance of Rome in the century before Augustus, we can judge even better in numerous structures of this time and type at Palestrina (Praeneste), Ferentino, Anagni, Cori, Bieda, Asisi, Todi, Vulci, Spoleto, etc.

Even for the succeeding days of Cicero, Caesar and Pompey, of Marc Antony and Augustus, when we might expect Rome to furnish abundant monumental material, we find that the fires and reconstructions of the Empire, quite as much as time and vandalism, have helped to obliterate or fundamentally deface all but a few works. It is to the Augustan colonies that we turn. What remaining Augustan temple in Rome can compare in preservation with those of Pola and Assisi? What Augustan arches or gates with those of Aquino, Aosta, Rimini, Spello, Pola and Verona? What bridges in Rome equal those of Narni, Spoleto, Rimini and Vulci?

It might seem logical to pause at the close of the reign of Augustus and to allow Rome, in which henceforth the life of all Italy seemed to be centralized, to speak for herself alone. Yet Rome even now had no monopoly, and the monuments of the Flavian and Antonine ages

can be illustrated quite as well if not better outside of Rome. The effect of the wonderful amphitheatre at Pola, reflected in the waters of the bay and against the picturesque hillside, is more overpowering even than that of the Coliseum: and in the arch of Trajan at Beneventum, still so complete, we see embodied the destroyed perfections of Trajan's forum in Rome quite as well as in his memorial column. This is true to the very close of the empire. The palace-fortress and Tomb of Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia, where the architecture preserves so uniquely its finish and its details, make more real to us the mutilated types of imperial palaces and mausoleums in Rome and help to reconstitute the internal aspect of such buildings as the baths of Diocletian and the Basilica of Constantine, those swan's songs of expiring Roman genius, now mere colorless skeletons.

The great architects and artists of the Renaissance, in whose time the ruins of Rome were even far less depleted than now, understood all these facts thoroughly, but only from the artistic standpoint. Their sketch-books and text-books show how they ransacked every corner of Italy, Gaul and Dalmatia for works of the early and golden age of Roman art, even though they cared little for the more primitive monuments.

ROMAN CITIES IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN ITALY AND DALMATIA

I

Rome and the Latin League

Earliest Struggles

Several races claim precedence as sponsors for Rome: the Latins in almost every field; the Sabines in a number of religious institutions and primitive agricultural customs; the Etruscans in ritual augury and cult, in the advanced manners and customs of civilization. Each race has found modern protagonists, but Latin preponderance had seemed quite secure until the last decade, when the results of excavations, slowly digested. have been tending to show how close was the union with the neighboring cities of Southern Etruria, even before the Etruscan kings of Rome, and also how direct, in some ways, the influence of archaic Greece.

The safest conclusion now seems to be that Rome was fairly representative of the cosmopolitanism of the Italic race, especially of its Latin section. Not long after her emergence as a city in the eighth century, she began to come to the fore as the emporium of the Latins, break-

ing gradually through the original bounds of her tiny territory, which did not extend on any side over five or six miles beyond her walls. On the west the Tiber formed a natural boundary which she hardly passed for centuries, for beyond it loomed, only twelve miles away, powerful Veii, richest, perhaps of the Etruscan cities, forming the apex of a threatening triangle, whose base was marked, on one side, by Caere near the sea-coast and, on the other, by Capena and Falerii flanked by the mass of Mt. Soracte.

But on the north Rome could expand, after a while, beyond the Anio, and eastward to the Alban hills, across a belt of minor towns, all of the Latin race. She also soon reached the sea-coast, on the south, at Ostia. The two earlier cities to which traditions most closely bound her, both of them Latin, were Lanuvium, in this sea-belt, her sacred Mecca, which she always treated with reverence; and Alba, her political fountain head, leader of the Latin league, whom necessity obliged her to ruthlessly destroy so as to secure her place. This gradual extension of Rome's limits meant, of course, the absorption of the smaller and weaker adjoining cantons. At first this was often done by the destruction of the town, the annexation of its territory, and the transfer of part at least of its population to

Plate I

MAP OF ITALIA
Showing the
Colonia Civium Romanorum thus ○ Sena Gallica
(Eporedia B.C. 100 does not come within the Map)
Colonia Latina, thus +Brundisium
The chief military roads
Boundaries of the old tribes
The figures denote the dates of the
founding of the Colonies, the brackets
denote suppression.
MARE HADRIATICUM
MARE
VIA AEMILIA
VIA CASSIA
VIA FLAMINIA
VIA AURELIA
VIA SALARIA
VIA VALERIA
VIA LATINA
VIA APPIA
10
12
14
16
18
42
44
Eporedia 100
Cremona 218
Placentia 218
Parma 183
Mutina 183
Bononia 189
Aquileia 181
Rubico Flumen
Luca 180
Ariminum 268
Pisaurum 184
Sena Gallica 283
Aesinum 247
Auximum 157
Potentia 194
Firmum 264
Castrum Novum 283
Spoletium 241
Hatria 289
Narnia 299
Saturnia 183
Sutrium 383?
Graviscae 181
Pyrgi 191
Alsium 247
Fregenae 245
Rumon
Castia
Labici 418?
Velitrae
Tora
Signia 486?
Sora 303
Alba 303
Carseoli 298
Aequi
Aesernia 263
Pregellae 328
Sinuessa
Ardea 442
Satricum 385?
Antium 338
Suessa Pometia
Norba 492?
Setia 382
Circei 393?
Tarracina 329
Minturnae 296
Sinuessa 296
Volturnum 194
Fontiae 313
Liternum 194
Puteoli 194
Salernum 194
Beneventum 268
Luceria 314
Sipontum 194
Venusia 291
Brundisium 244

Rome; for example, in the majority of such towns as Politorium, Tellene, Ficana, Antemnae, Caenina, Collatia and Medullia, most of them in the region of the Anio. But when the population of Rome was sufficiently large not to require this expedient, the towns were allowed to exist with their territory reduced or else they retained, under a sort of protectorate, their local autonomy. In some cases the struggle for independence of these early Latin towns was long: it was so with Gabii, which held the district between the Alban mount and the Anio.

Rome did not merely join one of the confederacies of racial origin into which Italy was then largely divided. The Etruscans had their loose union of twelve cities; the Latins theirs of thirty.[1] The Hernicans had a league; so, possibly, had the Umbrians and the Samnites. But Rome was of, and yet not in, the Latin league, maintaining her independence of action and exercising a special authority. The earliest authentic document in Roman history, Rome's treaty with Carthage, shows that in 509, when her early power had reached its first zenith under the Tarquins, her protectorate extended down the entire coast

[1] In both cases this may not actually have been the number of members of the leagues, but rather the Sacred number of membership beyond which there was no admittance.

of Latium, as far as Terracina and Circeii, and we may conclude that it had spread inland to a similar extent. The Latin federation had then reached the point of an offensive and defensive alliance with Rome.

At about this time came an historic crisis of whose causes and extent we know but little. During the seventh and sixth centuries the Etruscans had been extending their dominion. Starting from the neighborhood of the Ciminian mountain, not far from Viterbo, in what we call Central Etruria, where they had been incubating for centuries, they had begun to steadily attack and annex the existing Italic communities of central Italy, penetrating first to the Mediterranean seaboard on one side and to the valley of the Tiber on the other; then crossing it eastward into Umbria as far as the Tiber. Whether they also pushed northward to the Po valley and reached almost to the Alps at this time, or whether their northern settlements, like Bologna (Felsina), were remnants of their earlier immigration across the Alps is one of the problems we apparently cannot yet solve. They seem not to have reached Umbria until early in the sixth century. What became of the populations they conquered we do not know, but it seems likely that they existed as subject races under an Etruscan

military aristocracy. Such cities as Caere and Falerii, which the Romans always regarded as Hellenic, seem not to have been radically changed by the Etruscan conquest. The wealthy Tarquinii and Clusium, whose Porsenna supported the exiled kings, were among the leading Etruscan opponents of the newly established Roman republic, as well as the nearer Veii, but the friendship of Caere certainly betrays a more than superficial brotherhood with Rome. Even on the coast south of Rome, in the Volscian and Campanian territory, the Etruscans had, through maritime and commercial superiority, gained a strong foothold and their fleets in union with the Phœnicians had acquired control of the commerce of this part of the Mediterranean. They seemed to be closing in around Rome.

While Rome was thus being embroiled with the Etruscans, and was forced into making humiliating concessions of territory and authority to Porsenna, there began a movement on her east flank which threatened to overwhelm not only her but the whole Latin confederacy. Some cause was forcing certain mountainous tribes of the Apennine tablelands, called by Roman historians Aequi and Volsci, to seek an outlet toward the seaboard of Latium across the valley of the Sacco and the Pontine plain, over the Hernican

and Volscian hills. They penetrated as far as the Alban mount, captured and held such important Latin strongholds as Velitrae, Cora and Pometia, and established an advanced fortress on Mt. Algidus on the edge of the Alban group. They were stopped with difficulty by a splendid line of Latin fortresses, extending from the Apennines to the sea—Tibur, Praeneste, Tusculum, Signia and Norba; helped by the strong cities of the Hernican league, which usually took the side of the Latins and of Rome.

It was before 450 B.C. that the invading tide ebbed at this point, and eddying back found its way between the lower spurs of the Ausonian and Volscian ranges and mastered the whole of lower maritime Latium. But for over a century longer these Aequi and Volsci, helped by occasional Sabine and Ausonian incursions, kept up a harassing and desolating warfare. It became a regular thing every year for the Romans to expect a raid from these peoples, who would either meet on Mt. Algidus, at the back of Alban mount, or along the upper edge of the Pontine plain. Word would be received from the ravaged Hernicans or Tusculans or Lanuvians. Sometimes, even, the gates of Rome were reached. Many cities exchanged hands in these wars, so that it is sometimes difficult to know

whether to call them Roman and Latin or Volscian and Aequian. This was the case with Suessa Pometia, Cora, Velitrae, Satricum, Antium, Labici, Bola, and many more. Several were burned once or more often—like Satricum and Pometia; others received once or twice Roman colonies in order to keep them loyal and satisfy needy Romans.

Fortunately for Rome, the struggles of the Etruscans: with Greeks, both on land and sea; with Samnites in the south, and with Celts in the north, while largely outside the direct Roman sphere, yet by putting an end to Etruscan preponderance in Italy, were preparing the ground, during the fifth century, for the establishment of Roman domination. Still, this was considerably retarded by the second crisis in Rome's career, that of her capture by the Gauls in 390 B.C. and her consequent loss of prestige with the Latins, the Hernicans and other surrounding peoples. This made a long, patient and bloody renovation of her influence necessary before the subjugation of Italy could again be undertaken.

So the long struggle raged for a period of between three and four centuries before 380 B.C., between Rome and these various enemies: Etruscans, Volscians, Aequians, Sabines. The seat of war was never far enough from the Roman Cam-

pagna to give Rome itself any feeling of safety from capture. And she could not always feel absolutely sure of her usual allies of the Latin and Hernican leagues, with both of which she had at times to struggle. It was always a fight for life.

There were several groups of cities most intimately interrelated with Rome during this period. First, of course, the cities of the ancient Latins, the *prisci Latini,* some of them, such as Aricia and Tusculum, merged in the Latin League, while others, like Tibur and Praeneste, were sufficiently powerful to act with individual policy. Beside these were the neo-Latin foundations, such as Norba and Signia, to which colonies had been sent by Rome, and in which she had a proprietory interest. In a third class were the Hernican cities, friendly to Rome as a rule, but not as closely related to her. Before attacking the new era of the fourth century before Christ when Rome passed into new and wider fields, I will describe some typical cities of each of these groups.

Praeneste

Though Rome was the emporium of Latium, she seems not to have been even among the earliest foundations of the Latin race, which centered in the Alban hills, extended eastward to the

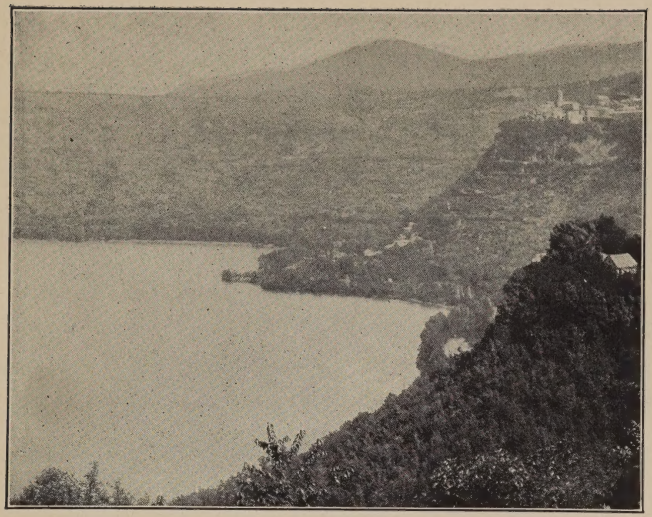
Samnite borders in the Apennines beyond Tibur and westward to the seaboard, the Pontine plain and the Tiber, dotting this region with cities at intervals of between three and ten miles, in the palmy days before the Volscian and Aequian invasion.

Of these Latin cities built before Rome or at about the same time, only one, Praeneste, has preserved a semblance of its antique splendor. Of Alba Longa there is hardly a trace except for a few simple graves with early cabin urns, buried under a volcanic eruption which covered them with a stratum of peperino rock. Tusculum, Aricia, Lanuvium, Lavinium, the other principal members of the league, have only faint remnants. In Tibur, the modern Tivoli, we breathe the atmosphere of the imperial villas and at the earliest that of the last days of the Republic in its fascinating temple. But Praeneste, the impregnable fortress *par excellence* of all Latium, has not only its incomparable site, its cyclopean walls and the remnants of its temple of Fortune, the most magnificent and colossal temple in Italy, but has yielded from its tombs proof of the life of its people in profuse detail and over quite a long period of time.

After the early destruction of Alba it would seem as if Praeneste and Tibur were, next to

Rome, the largest and most influential Latin cities, one dominating the Praenestine and the other the Tiburtine hills as Alba had dominated the slopes of the Alban mount. Praeneste annexed the smaller townships in her neighborhood in the same way as Rome was doing and at one time was known to have at least eight towns in her power. She never lost her independence of action by a complete merger in the Latin league, as was shown when she took the part of Rome against the league before the battle of Lake Regillus in 497. She was as necessary to Rome as a bulwark as Rome was to her, when she had to bear the brunt of Aequian and Volscian attacks, for while her site was impregnable her rich territory was open to devastation. During the half century of Rome's weakness after the capture by the Gauls, Praeneste was for a time the leader of the Latins in their effort to put an end to Roman supremacy, and her troops at one time came as far as the Colline gate. Even after the final submission of the Latins to Rome Praeneste never lost her strategic importance, her proud spirit or her wealth.

An excursion to Palestrina, the ancient Praeneste, and a study of her tombs will therefore carry one back by almost infinitesimal stages from imperial Rome to the age of her begin-



Lake Nemi: Site of Temple of Diana, the National Shrine of the Latins

Detail of Ficoroni Cista, from Praeneste (Woltman)

Plate II

nings, illustrating during all this time the action of the influences of the Orient, of Greece, and of Etruria within the purely Latin sphere. For any one who is willing to abjure the poetry-destroying railway and to get his local flavor with leisurely progress, along the antique way, the easiest road is the Labicana, but the most interesting is the ancient Via Praenestina itself, which is parallel, farther north, even though by taking it one gives up the chance to pass the site of Lake Regillus, where the Romans in 497 B.C. recovered their freedom by defeating the Latin forces that had sided with the Tarquins.

The Via Praenestina starts due east from Porta Maggiore, that most spectacular of the works by early imperial engineers remaining in the city. At one mile out is the Torraccio, among the largest of the early circular mausoleums, with a diameter of one hundred forty-two and one half feet, attributed to the last century of the Republic. Shortly after passing the stream of Aqua Bollicante, which marked the primitive boundary of Rome on this side, the ruins of the imperial villa of the Gordians stand on the slight ridge of the Tor di Schiavi, perhaps the best preserved of such groups of buildings nearer to the city than Hadrian's villa.

At the ninth mile is the viaduct of the Ponte di

Nona, built to keep the ancient highway level in crossing a deep valley. It is one of the most stupendous works of the engineers of the late Republic. Though attributed to Sulla at the time of his reconstruction of Praeneste, it may easily be earlier. Its seven arches of Gabii stone with tufa buttresses are of unequal height, owing to the slope, and of harmonious proportions. We see here the prototype of the marvelous imperial viaducts of the Pont du Gard in Southern France, of Alcantara, Merida and Segovia in Spain. This favorite local stone, a fine sort of peperino, called Lapis Gabinus, got its name from the neighboring Gabii, three miles beyond, on the low ridge of an extinct volcano, at the modern Castiglione, whose site has such strong sentimental associations with earliest Rome.

Gabii was said to be a colony of Alba more ancient than Rome, to which Romulus and Remus were sent to learn Greek! The early Roman debt to Gabii was perpetuated in the fundamental ceremonial of laying out a Roman colony. The priest who plowed the sacred furrow wore his robes after the Gabine fashion even as late as the Empire. At the same time she soon became a thorn in the flesh to Rome, preventing her extention to the northeast. Her legendary capture by the Tarquins and the fact that with

Fidenae, Veii and Fregellae she was on the list of cities upon whom the curse of the gods was called, shows the bitterness of this stage of the relation, when the Gabine dress was considered a badge of war. She was soon absorbed and her inhabitants made Roman citizens. Perhaps she was the first city given the franchise in this way, instead of by the transporting of the inhabitants to Rome, as had been the case with Antemnae, Collatia and others.

The historic temple of Juno at Gabii, sung by Virgil, is identified with the only present visible ruin on the site, a solid temple-cella of peperino blocks which, though rent by an earthquake, is still almost complete. It is the only ruin of the sort of the Republican age in or near the Alban hills, beside the similar cella at Aricia. The use of stuccoed columns and capitals of the same peperino is a sign of quite early date, perhaps pre-Gracchan. Below the temple and on its axis was a wide semicircular stone bench, which brings to mind the bench for the sessions of local magistrates in the forum of Assisi, placed in the same relation to the temple.

After leaving Gabii, we pass some picturesque arches of the Claudian aqueduct, and after treading along quite a tract of the ancient paved road, reach another bridge-viaduct—the Ponte Amato,

two hundred and thirty-five feet long, built of the same splendid blocks of the Gabii stone of the same late Republican date as the Ponte di Nona.

As Palestrina is now approached it can be visualized as an ancient city in two forms: either the antique fortress as it was before the destruction by Sulla, with terrace upon terrace of cyclopean walls connected with the citadel, set quite high above the city, by an arrow-like walled causeway; or else as the pleasure ground of the wealthy Romans of the age of Cicero and the early Empire, when the frowning walls and embankments were crowned by the gorgeously enlarged shrine of Fortune and garlanded with a luxuriant wreath of villas. There are remains with which to reconstruct either of these pictures. The one that interests us now is the first.

Praeneste occupied the most important strategic point in Latium. Like Tibur (Tivoli) she was an advance post toward the land of the enemy—the Aequi. At this point the Apennines after running almost due south sheer off to the east leaving the Praenestine hills as a spur jutting out as if to join hands on the south with the Volscian hills, across the valley of the Sacco, and westward with the crater of the Alban mount. At the end of this Praenestine branch a narrow

ridge, after gently falling from the mountain, sweeps up in a final peak seven hundred and sixty-six meters high, just large enough for a citadel, before sinking again nearly three hundred meters to a slope four hundred and seventy-two meters high, on which the bulk of the city was built.

The view from the ancient *arx* or citadel, now called Castel S. Pietro, is wonderfully extensive. Latium unfolds itself almost as far south as misty Circeii, seen partly along the valley between the Volscian and Alban hills. In fact, the view sweeps from the Sabine range across the valley of the Anio, then over the Tiber toward Veii and to Rome and the Campagna. One can grasp from here the strategic relationship of the various peoples. Aequi and Sabines to the north; Etruscans to the northwest; Rome and the Latins to the west; Volscians and Latins interpenetrating on the south; Hernicans and Volscians to the east. Praeneste held the key. Her very strength, as Strabo says, was an added peril and made her a perpetual storm center. She controlled the Via Latina, the Via Praenestina and Via Labicana. Only starvation could reduce her. Her people lived in a continued state of high-strung endeavor and in a series of successive crises, as long as Latium played any part

in Italian politics. When Pyrrhus, at the high-water mark of his struggle with Rome, was marching northward to capture it, he is said to have reached Praeneste and from its citadel to have had a first and last view of his great enemy, before turning back.

The superposed terraces into which Praeneste is divided remind one of Strabo's saying that it was once called the multi-crowned city. From these terraces a double wall led up the mountain nearly a thousand feet to the citadel, expanding into a circle around its rock. I know of one other such well-defined arrangement, of a citadel at a great height above the city, connected with it by a fortified causeway: it is at Circeii. This wall and that of the citadel can still be traced: like the terrace walls they are of cyclopean masonry of the highly-finished polygonal type. We cannot be at all certain as to their date; but as Praeneste was a flourishing city as early as the sixth and seventh centuries its fortifications seem likely to have been in existence at that period.

The other exceptional architectural feature of Praeneste from the earliest period was its shrine of Fortune. The Fortune of Praeneste was called *Fortuna Primigenia,* or Fortune the First-born of Jove, the giver of all good gifts to men,

the fore-teller of the future, the all-wise oracle. Even Rome was jealous of the renown obtained by this shrine, and forbade its being consulted by her public men. It seems to have been the only temple in Latium[1] which occupied as an oracle a similar position to that held in Greece by the oracles of Delphi, Olympia and Dodona. Such demands on Fate as the imaginative and impulsive Hellenes required, were less necessary to the more exact and material Italians, whose relations to the divine sphere were rather in the nature of clear rationalistic compacts of give and take. But here at Praeneste was the one brilliant exception, the one outlet to the religious sentiment of the Latin race. The *sortes Praenestinae* remained famous and venerated long after skepticism had overthrown faith in most things esteemed holy.

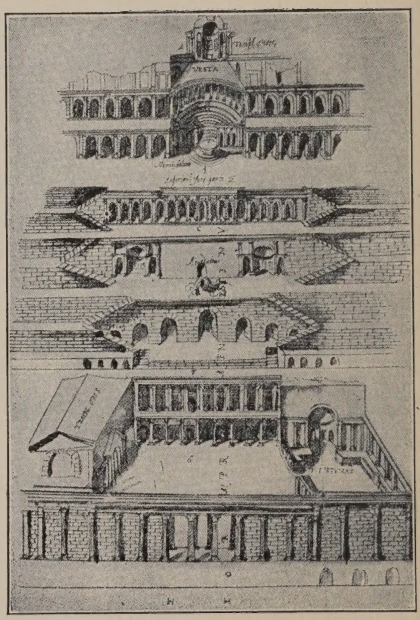
The temple seems to have always occupied a large part of the area in the upper section of the center of the city. The modern town of Palestrine is partly within its ancient limits, and this will give some idea of its extent. It lasted in some form almost through the Middle Ages. A document of about 1300 A.D. deplores its destruction by the vindictiveness of Pope Boniface VIII

[1] Except that of Antium, which never seems to have reached the same universal fame. Cf. Fernique, p. 90.

before whom there still remained large parts of the broad inclined esplanades leading up from one terrace to another, the sweeping hemicycle at the top crowned by a temple said to be like the Pantheon in Rome. Even the fragments that remained after this papal destruction have exercised numberless archæologists since the revival of humanistic studies, and it is interesting to follow through the mazes of the modern town, in cellars, basements and side streets, the traces of the sanctuary. In imagining its reconstruction we must do away with all our preconceived ideas as to classic temples either in Italy or in Greece, and must go to the colossal Hellenistic structures of Asia Minor or even to the staged pyramidal temples and observatories of Babylonia and Assyria. Of course every temple had its sacred inclosure or *temenos* which usually surrounded a court of no great extent that served as an approach to the temple; but that of an oracle of wide renown was of quite different proportions and arrangements. Some elements for reconstruction are furnished by old drawings such as the one by Rainaldi, here reproduced.

Those in Greece comprised a long sacred way, winding up to the main shrine and passing minor shrines, treasure-houses and dedicated works of art. But even when these were not on a level

Ficoroni Cista from Praeneste (Martha)



Praeneste, Temple of Fortune as Restored by Late Renaissance Architect (Durm)

Plate III

there was no such spectacular and sudden rise inside the inclosure, no such unity of architectural composition, no such pyramidal upbuilding, no such simultaneous view of the whole scene, even from a distance. The Latin shrine must have far outshone those of Greece in this general effect if inferior in every other respect.

In its final form, as given to it by Sulla, shortly after 82 B.C., it rose in pyramidal shape up the mountain side to a height of nearly four hundred and fifty feet or one hundred and fifty meters. At its base it was over one thousand three hundred feet wide (four hundred and twenty-five meters); at its summit about four hundred feet wide (one hundred and twenty-five meters). The crowning hemicycle of the shrine was less than one hundred feet in diameter (thirty meters). Around the base was a large open square in which the first story stood; flanked by wings and entered through a columnar propylaeum. Above this rise five stories of diminishing heights as well as retreating width, connected like some Babylonian temples by esplanades and crowned by the round temple.

The right and left sides of the lower area were each inclosed by a reservoir for the use of the city below. Both are in good condition and among the most important of their kind. One

of these can be visited: that occupying the west side of the area. Its length is over three hundred feet (one hundred and six meters) by one hundred feet (thirty-three meters) and it is divided into ten vaulted halls nearly ninety feet (twenty-seven meters) long, connected by doors. The face of this reservoir, which forms the west side of the sacred square, was decorated with seven niches which probably contained statues. On the east side instead of niches there was a portico and a wall decorated with Doric half-columns through which one went down to the reservoir and which is on a lower level than the other. A monumental fountain seems to have occupied the center of the square; and the main or north wall, which formed the face of the first story, was decorated with twenty-nine arcades in three sections; a central projection with five, and two wings each with twelve arcades. They seem to have connected with chambers for the numerous personnel of the temple and may be called the substructures of the shrine.

The top of this first story can be studied especially in the Barberini gardens, in that of the Cardinal of Palestrina and in the streets near the Porta del Sole. It has a length of about one thousand three hundred and ninety feet (four hundred and twenty-five meters) and a

width of eighty-seven meters and had on either side cisterns which cannot now be seen (eighty-one meters by thirty meters). The remains of walls here are of no architectural significance. The modern Corso marks the level of the second story, which seems to have had the same length as the first, but to have been a trifle lower.

The modern cathedral occupies the site of a central hall of the old temple, which has been christened the civil basilica, and on this story there were a number of spectacular buildings, colonnaded porticoes and squares. The arrangement seems to have included an eastern and a western hall on either side of the central basilica. The south wall can be seen in the square, near the cathedral. Parts of the eastern wall (twenty-five meters by thirteen meters) are quite well preserved and can be visited especially in the buildings of the Seminary. Belonging as it does to Sulla's restoration, it is among the finest remaining examples of the architectural style of the close of the Republic. This is especially true of a group of four Corinthian engaged columns. The interior had large niches probably intended for statues rising from a basement decorated with a frieze of triglyphs and metopes filled with rosettes and paterae similar to many that we find on Etruscan sarcophagi of the third century B.C.,

and on such Etruscan architecture as the Arch of Augustus at Perugia. These arcaded niches are divided by alternate semi-columns and pilasters. At the end was a great square niche inclosing three smaller ones. Delbrück, in his recent work on the Hellenistic architecture of Latium, uses the details of this hall, so pure and severe, as the climax of his series, and it certainly enables us to reconstruct with some degree of certainty the interior of such buildings as the Tabularium in Rome, with which it seems contemporary, though it is doubtful if the Tabularium itself had the magnificence of the Praenestine work. We can judge of this from the mosaic which covered its floor. This intricate and wonderfully executed mosaic of Alexandrian art reproduces an elaborate Egyptian scene, and has been the subject of many monographs. On the other side from this hall a grotto has been found, with another elaborate mosaic pavement: it seems to be one of the early shrines of the goddess. The space between this civil basilica (at the Cathedral) and the lower shrine, represented by the present Seminary, forms the primitive Forum of free Praeneste, as distinguished from the imperial Forum, much lower, at the Madonna dell' Aquila. It is there that have been found the fragments of the famous Roman

Calendar of Religious Festivals compiled by Verrius Flaccus.

The arrangement of this story was in a central court sixty-four meters long and twenty-three meters deep, flanked by these two halls as wings and with the basilica rising in the center in front of the solid wall of the main structure. This is faced with engaged columns between which were nine windows of beautiful workmanship, two of which are still entire. Of the third story, called that of the Borgo, there remains very little; it was the thinnest of all. There are numerous cyclopean walls at this level and on the next, which is called the story of the Grottos, in which are series of arcades and of chambers supposed to be for the use of the persons who came to consult the oracle. In one of these are four Corinthian columns.

The approach to the fifth or highest story was heralded by a colonnade of which nothing remains but the memory in the name of a street, the Via del Colonnaro. This level is in the highest part of the modern town and its central structure, the hemicycle, is comprised in the upper Barberini palace, called the *Cortina*. The area of this level seems to have been free on the south side, from which one gets the wonderful view, and to have been surrounded by basilicas or porticoes on

the west and east sides. Several bases and the foundation wall of the hemicycle remain, on both sides of which were arcades of Corinthian columns. The small circular shrine which surmounted the hemicycle and formed a sort of ethereal sixth story has entirely disappeared.

M. Fernique, the French archæologist to whom we are indebted for a valuable résumé of previous studies, has shown that the two upper stories, including hemicycle and round temple, were additions of the time of Sulla, but the main body of the structure up to that point, with its cyclopean retaining walls, belongs to the early temple of the sixth century or earlier, except for certain enlargements such as the halls on the second and fourth stories. In its final form it could be seen from every near point of Latium, from the Alban and the Volscian hills. As a public monument of a grandeur equaling if not surpassing the Roman Capitol, it is unique in its juxtaposition of the cyclopean art of primitive Latium with that of the most exquisite Hellenic art introduced into Latium during the last century of the Republic; two phases that are as impossible of amalgamation as oil and water.

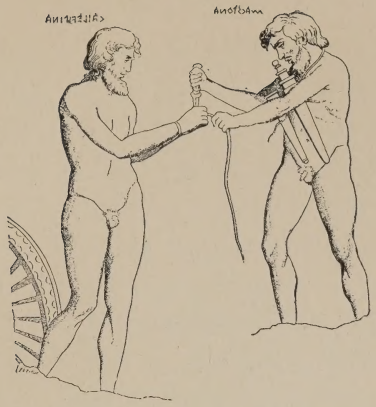
Exactly the same curious contrast is furnished by the works of art and industry found in the

necropolis of Praeneste. They form the only large *corpus* of works thus far discovered from which we can draw to reconstitute Latin life during these pre-Augustan centuries. It is a curious fact that while from one end of Etruria to the other ancient necropoli have been found with a mass of material extending from the eighth century to the first century B.C., from the age of the circular Alban hut and the Villanova urn in the iron age to that of the carved marble cinerary urns, the entire region south of the Tiber and the Anio has yielded practically no corresponding material. The search for the necropoli of the Latin, Volscian and Hernican cities has been almost fruitless except for a few stray tombs and some small groups of no importance. The only exception has been here at Praeneste, where the necropolis has been found, and its tombs yielded objects so startling and spectacular as to make us feel that in the time of the kings either Rome was far inferior in art and culture to Praeneste or else that the Roman was far different from the homely creature we are told he was. To quote Fernique, in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. Praeneste was a rich and powerful city, in close commercial and artistic relations with the Phoenicians and Etruscans, leading a sumptuous and luxurious life. "At religious ceremonies the

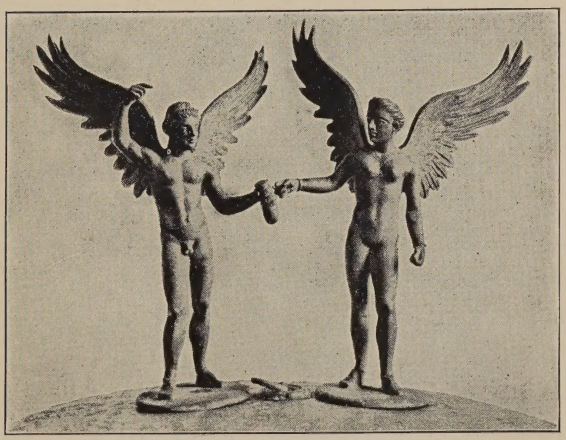
priests put on gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, the women wore in their hair pins of gold and amber; at banquets they made use of cups and vases of the precious metals worked in relief. In war time the chiefs put on rich armor; their bronze shields were decorated with heads of griffins or other fantastic animals, made more startling by eyes of brilliant enamel; the handles of their poniards were often of amber, and their sheaths were decorated with scenes of the chase or of war."

One can see proofs of this in Rome in the old collection of the Kircherian museum, where the contents of the tomb of a Praenestine chief of this period (Tomba Bernardini), found in 1876, are exhibited. The same sort of objects appeared in the Castellani and, especially, in the Barberini collection, which contains by far the greatest quantity of Praenestine objects.

Nothing that has been yielded by early Italian tombs is more unusual than the gold ornaments that once decorated the official costume of the priests or chiefs of the sixth and seventh centuries, preserved in both these collections, though they may be compared to some of the pieces in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, now in the Vatican. The minutest workmanship is shown in a frontlet of gold plate only eight by five inches, which



Mastarna (King Servius Tullius) freeing Caeles Vibenna
Fresco of Graeco-Etruscan Art from Tomb at Vulci



Bronze Statuettes from a Praenestine Cista (Fernique)

Plate IV

in this small area is decorated with one hundred and thirty-one small figures of lions, horses, sirens and chimeras, arranged in rows and executed with the greatest delicacy. Similar tiny sphinxes and human-faced lions appear on electrum fibulae. The sheaths of his daggers were of silver with men and animals in relief. Even more extraordinary are some similar gold ornaments in the Barberini collection, which must originally have been sewed to garments. There are two shoulder pieces formed by a mass of delicate parallel strips of gold and silver fringe with tiny doves hanging from the ends; and there is a quadruple line of winged sphinxes attached to the groundwork and to three parallel bands nearly a foot long. There are gold and silver sacred wands, with lotus decoration, gold clasps and fibulae, gold papyrus cases, gold disks with zones of animals, funerary diadems of gold leaf, quantities of small silver plaques, often with palmette decoration, forming part of a costume.

While the oriental character of most of the decoration is evident, it is clearest in an ivory plaque of the Kircheriano, with the procession of the Nile boat. Another class of sure and characteristic Phoenician pieces is that of the silver dishes or flat cups with scenes in relief. The only two other important finds of such pieces

have been the cave of the Idean Zeus in Crete and the Cesnola and other discoveries in Cyprus, especially in Larnaca. All are evidently of Phoenician workmanship and one of the staples of artistic commerce in the eighth and seventh centuries; in most of them the imitation of Egyptian art is evident, in a few the influence in Latium of Assyria. It is curious to find such proof of the reality of that Etrusco-Phoenician monopoly of trade in the Mediterranean which was brought to an end by the victory of the Greeks over their combined fleets in 435 B.C.

Up to the present time the Praenestine tombs have yielded nothing belonging to the fifth or fourth centuries. After the archaic works just alluded to there is quite a gap. The next group of tombs seems to date from the third and second centuries. But this must be a matter of chance. In some yet unexplored section of the necropolis the tombs of these two middle centuries will surely come to light, for there was no intermission in the prosperity of the city. For the present we must assume the gap and take up the thread again at the time when, after the dissolution of the Latin league in 338 the cities of Latium, including Praeneste, had become part of the Roman system. Praeneste was then reckoned in the class of allied cities (*civitas foede-*

rata) preserving its municipal autonomy, but subject to the periodical supervision of Roman magistrates and supplying a considerable military contingent in time of war.

I cannot omit an heroic episode in this phase of Praenestine history. It was in the Punic wars. To meet the crisis before the battle of Cannae, a supplementary levy seems to have been required by Rome of Praeneste, as it probably was of the other allied cities. The five hundred Praenestines who formed this cohort were late in setting out and while on their way south heard of the catastrophe at Cannae. They also heard of the defection of Capua to Hannibal. Instead of retreating they occupied the neighboring Casilinum with a detachment of about five hundred Perusian auxiliaries and a few others, and detained Hannibal on his march northward so effectually that, after successively defeating two detachments which he sent against them and Hannibal himself, they obliged him finally to undertake a long siege: ate grass and leather to keep alive and caught in nets the nuts that were sent down the river to them by the Romans who did not dare march to their relief. Perhaps these Praenestines saved Rome, by giving her time to recover from her first panic and organize the defense. This shows of what stern stuff the

Praenestines were made, even after they had lost their independence.

But the tombs also show that at this time Praeneste had not abated one whit its love for art, and its high level of culture. With the growing importance of the commercial relations between Southern and Central Italy, through the opening of the Roman highways, Praeneste maintained her supremacy as a cultivator and purveyor of art. The life is of course quite different from that of four centuries before, in its modes of expression, but it keeps abreast of the latest fashions. The most characteristic class of objects found are the famous circular or oval metal boxes called *cistae,* long considered to have some mystical or religious significance. They are now recognized as nothing but objects of daily use. Some of them contained implements used by men at the bath; others those used by women for their toilet. There are mirrors, perfume boxes, ointment boxes and vases, pins, nail polishers and cleaners, strigils, combs and even bath slippers. Better than in any other single group of antiquities can one here recognize the entire feminine toilet outfit, what the Romans called the *mundus muliebris,* and they form a fit illustration of the literary sources of early Roman literature so meager for the pre-Augustan age.

The cistae which contained these objects, though articles of commerce, were often extremely artistic. One of them has long had a world-wide reputation as one of the most exquisite products of ancient art; it is the Ficoroni cista of the Kircheriano museum, on which compositions in the graffito are of pure, Greek type. These cistae are typical of the strongest tendency which we observe in this Praenestine art, the tendency toward Hellenism. Out of the earlier medley of Phoenician and Etruscan works the Latin artists and artisans had fashioned for themselves a Latin style which, when we shall know it better, will have a clearly local flavor. We have seen it in the first period especially in the ivory carvings and bronzes, which were less dominated by foreign art. Now we are finding it in vase-paintings, in the graffiti of cistae and mirrors, and in a quantity of objects of daily use that were manufactured at home. By the side of the pure Greek work in the graffiti of the Ficoroni cista we can set the Latin versions of some fifty other cistae. Beside bronzes imported from Etruria we can set many more that are Latino-Greek.

There is every reason to feel, therefore, that Praeneste is the city most capable of giving us a fairly exact counterpart of conditions in Rome,

not only on account of its size and wealth but because of its commercial and religious influence and connections. All Latium came to its Oracle of Fortune as all Latium went to Rome; it felt keenly all current artistic, commercial, social, political and religious changes. Students of Rome should not only visit Praeneste, but after impregnating themselves with her atmosphere should study with loving care her antiquities in Rome, especially those of the Kircherian and Barberini collections. Of course there are a few scattered elsewhere, as in the Louvre, at Berlin and St. Petersburg, as well as in private collections; but the immense majority belong to the Barberini. This is natural because the Barberini princes, with their two palaces in Palestrina itself and their large landholdings outside, have conducted the excavations on their own estates. It is not many years since I was asked by the Barberini to purchase for some American museum their archæological collections including the Palestrina finds, which were practically unknown except to a few specialists. I remember my delight as drawer after drawer was opened, filled with the unrestored objects of intimate daily use of the Latin men and women of the third century B.C. Last year a dealer in Florence secured them from the family and was holding them

there awaiting some arrangement with the Italian government which would either allow the collection to be sold, or would add it to one of the government museums in Rome, where it certainly should be. It seems that Italy is not to lose it and that it is to be opened at last to the public. This is fortunate because nothing could compensate for its loss.

We can now pass beyond the narrow sphere of the girdle of Latin cities into the field of the colonies, the allies and enemies of Latium and of Rome. In the region we are about to enter, south of the Tiber and the Umbrian plain, the Italian peninsula as far down as the more purely Hellenic district is thickly dotted with ruined cities once built in a peculiarly rugged and imposing style of stone masonry. The large blocks are irregular, polygonal cubes, not laid in regular courses but fitted together, without cement, in apparent disorder. Sometimes the largest blocks are juxtaposed without any attempt to cut and fit them and the interstices are filled in with smaller stones, more or less roughly. Neither beds nor faces are tooled. In other cases the outer faces are left rough but the beds are given a regular surface in the natural direction of the block and each block is carefully joined to the next; the joints being often of the proverbial

closeness into which the penknife cannot enter. Then again we find the more developed scheme of smooth-facing the blocks as well as giving them regular beds. There are subvariations to these principal styles, depending on the use of fairly uniform-sized blocks, on a mingling of small and large stones, or on an approach to the regular-course masonry. No unanimity of opinion has been reached as to whether these modes are successive in time, or were used simultanously. There is also heated controversy as to whether all of this polygonal masonry is really very early, or whether it is not quite as late as the regular-course masonry, and its peculiarities due to the kind of stone used, which broke naturally into these polygons.

At all events these ruined cities are of unusual interest. Except for sporadic cases, no others of this type exist in the civilized world except a very few in Greece, where they belong to the Homeric age, and in Asia Minor, where they were built by the even earlier Hittites. They excited scientific interest in the first decades of the eighteenth century, when the Italian Signora Dionigi, the Frenchman Petit-Radel, the Englishman Gell and our first American amateur archæologist, Middleton, were among those who felt the peculiar glamour of their gloomy majesty.

Purely as works of architecture the Italian group surpasses in grandeur and also in numbers both the Greek and the Asiatic. Finally, what interests us especially in this connection is that this class of city is more intimately connected than any other with Rome.[1]

[1] I have followed the traditional interpretation of the ruins of Palestrina, without being quite convinced of its accuracy. Quite another interpretation has recently been given by Mr. R. van D. Magoffin, in *A Study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste,* 1908. He greatly reduces the area of the temple enclosure and its architectural splendor.

II

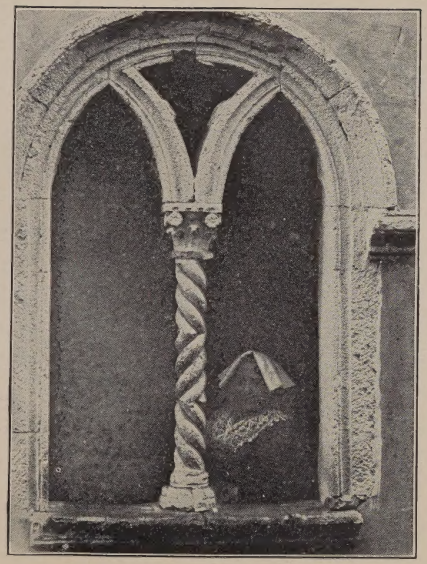
The Cities of the Hernican League

There are some ancient cities in the hills along the railroad line from Rome to Naples that have been most successful in keeping their attractions concealed. They have not decorated the pages of any author who believes himself to have discovered the hill towns of Italy, nor have they slipped into any fugitive sketch of Italian highways and byways. One might believe the cause to be the regrettable absence of comfortable inns, were there not every reason to be skeptical as to this state of affairs ever having been made a subject of investigation.

These towns still keep their antique names,—Anagni, Alatri, Ferentino, Veroli; and they belonged to the tribe of the Hernici, who gave its name to the range of hills which rise on the north side of the railway as soon as it has passed the Alban mount on the right, the end of the Praenestine ridge on the left and enters the valley of the Sacco, the ancient Trerus or Tolerus.

They fascinated me as a boy, and they have

Plate V



Ferentino, Window in Gothic House

Alatri, Main Entrance of Citadel

not changed for me since then. For a combination of unspoiled antique flavors one would have to go far to find their equals.[1] You pass through the pre-Roman city gate, up a winding street with long lines of Gothic windows set in the mellow stone walls, with all the patina of age still lingering on them like the burr on an unrubbed etching, and as you look approvingly at the mullioned casement to catch the dark eye of a maid with coal-black hair and pure Greek profile, you have a picture untouched by modern contrasts, for her costume, even, is centuries older than the Gothic house, in its heavy textures, its simple patterns and bold broad colors,—the costume of the *Ciocieria,* of which the models in Rome give a sadly freshened and *de luxe* edition.

For over two thousand five hundred years—perhaps for two or three centuries longer,—the people with the strong straight figure, the free carriage and proud Greek head have lived here in their own town, surrounded by their immense polygonal stone ramparts, with a walled citadel standing within it and overlooking its streets by about fifty feet of superb unbroken masonry.

[1] The stations dubbed with their names and with that of Segni are characteristically far from the towns. Still all but Veroli and Alatri are easily reached directly from the main line. For these two I believe one still must take a diligence at the station of Frosinone.

The ancient name of Aletrium has been preserved in the modern Alatri and the women still feel proud of the legend that gives them most of the credit of building the antique walls. If it were in Greece, instead of Italy, an abandoned ruin of half the size and in bad preservation, difficult to reach and quite bare of bed and board, devoid of the mellowness of years and marred by recent diggers, we should undoubtedly flock to it amid much discomfort, as we do to Tiryns and Mycenae. But, being in Italy, where it is *de rigueur* to admire only the Baedekerized and subsidized show places and things of imperial times, these ruins, unsurpassed in the world, remain the peaceful appanage of their proud inhabitants.

One day when, as a boy, I was walking across the hills from Ferentino to Alatri, I was given my first inner vision of the sturdy life and primeval passions of those heroic days of early independent tribal life. The towns, though only five to seven miles apart, always on some precipitous rocky spur, could not be seen from one another like the cities, such as Spello, Assisi and Perugia, strung along the gentle slopes above the Umbrian plains. Nor could they stand in isolated hegemony like the more widely spaced cities of the Etruscan league, such as Volsinii, Caere and

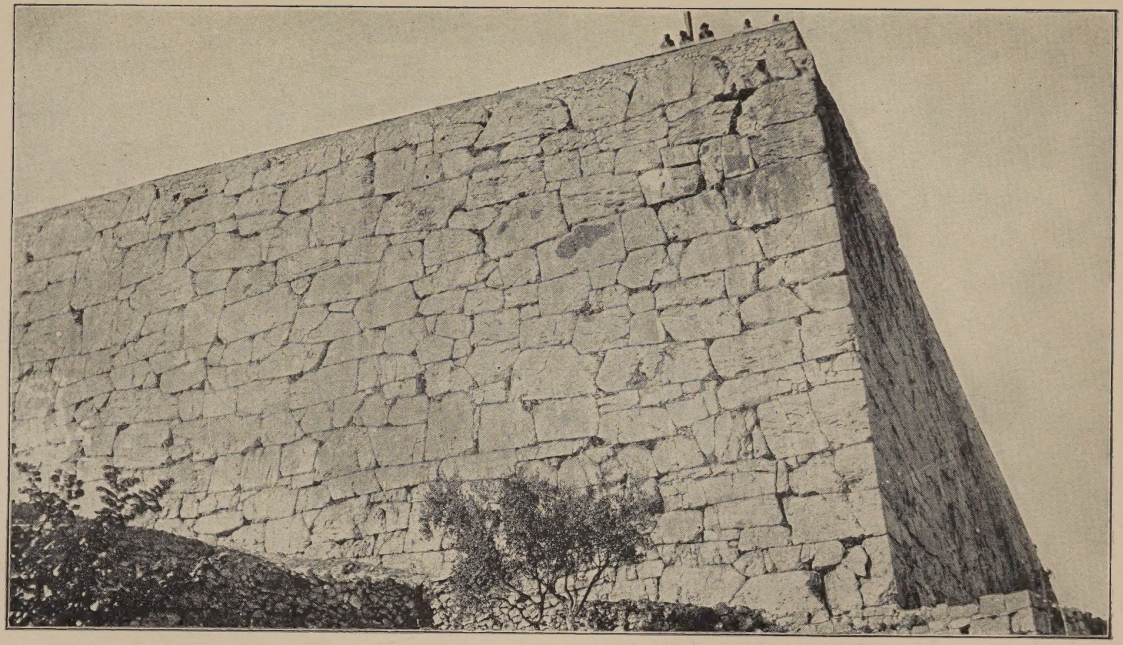
Clusium, self-sufficient in their wealth. Hidden as they were from each other by the quick enfolding hills, they were bound by the closest fellowship, because far more than the Etruscans, their people swarmed out into the open, living the life of an agricultural race, close to the soil, unspoiled by luxury or foreign traffic.

They did not trade with Etruscans, with Greeks or Phoenicians, and did not show in the least the Latin cosmopolitanism so evident at Praeneste. So we can understand these freedom-loving tribes, close blood-brethren, born fighters, and sticklers for local rights. Long after it was esteemed so great a privilege by most towns to be given by Rome the full rights of Roman citizenship they preferred to keep their municipal autonomy, to be considered the allies and friends of the Roman people, not part and parcel of the octopus, because this carried with it the submission to Roman magistrates. This was allowed them because from the beginning the three cities of Alatri, Ferentino and Veroli had been stanch friends to Rome, in the days when it meant, perhaps, the making or the marring of Rome's ambitions. These cities formed a solid wedge separating those constant partners in war—the Aequi in the northern hills and the Volsci in the southeast. It was to the mutual interest of

Hernicans and Romans to fight their junction, which would have overwhelmed them both.

It is curious that the greatest of the group, Anagni, the capital of the league, is the only one which has not preserved its original prehistoric walls and citadel. In their place are other walls once equally magnificent in their way, but built after Roman supremacy had become a well established fact, some time just before or after the Pyrrhic war. Is it not because Anagni, the richest and most sophisticated of the cities and the one most likely to be swayed by ambition into dangerous expedients, joined with some of the other Hernican towns under her influence such as Capitulum, in the anti-Roman confederacy of Samnites, Etruscans and the rest? This was in 306 B.C. Anagni then lost her autonomy and most of her land. It is probable that at the same time she lost her walls, a punishment several times inflicted by the Romans on faithless friends. Afterward the walls were probably rebuilt, in the later style of straight-course blocks, such as prevailed until the time of the Gracchi, when the Hernicans of Anagni were no longer feared and the city could become a Roman bulwark in the struggle with Pyrrhus or with Carthage. As we shall see it was also after some siege, some struggle in which the defenses of

Plate VI



Alatri, Corner of the Citadel

Ferentino were battered and torn, that its cyclopean walls were repaired and supplemented in a somewhat similar though rougher and perhaps earlier masonry than what we find at Anagni.

I have here illustrated these three stages. The citadel of Alatri, the unspoiled work of the pre-Roman people: the Porta Sanguinaria at Ferentino, giving the old ramparts with their early Roman repairs, perhaps of the fourth century B.C.; and the walls and retaining arcades at Anagni, records of the possession of the rebellious city by Roman magistrates in the days before and after the Punic war.

Alatri

When I first went to Alatri it was while laboring under the excitement of discovering that early Gothic architecture had been introduced into Italy by the French Cistercian monks about fifty years earlier than any one had supposed. I had visited in these hills the extraordinary monasteries of Casamari and Fossanova, picturesque survivals, isolated microcosms in the hillside, which seem almost as if brought here bodily from Burgundy. And, by the way, a lover of the picturesque and of medieval architecture cannot find a more delightful excursion than to these two monasteries hidden away and unknown except

to a half-dozen specialists. Once they had few rivals in Italy; popes and cardinals came to consecrate them. Great men like St. Thomas Aquinas lived and died in them. They were peopled with three hundred or four hundred monks and had daughter monasteries throughout central and southern Italy. I was then tracing in the neighboring towns the influence of this northern monastic Gothic on the natives, in their churches, town halls and houses. Alatri, Ferentino and Anagni are particularly rich in secular Gothic; no more unspoiled even if quite simple palaces and houses remain in Italy, and the picturesque people and still more picturesque scenery made the quest a continuous and delightful series of surprises.

But if the medieval spirit was strong in these towns, the prehistoric spirit was simply overpowering at Alatri, especially from the moment when one catches sight of the citadel wall while crossing the town, until, after passing under one of its two antique doorways and up the steps or the long incline one stands on the edge of the ramparts and tries to recreate the scenes of the days of Tarquin. The hills are still so unchanged and the town so archaic and soft-toned that this does not require any strenuous imaginative feat. The three-stepped base of the old sanctuary,

under the present cathedral, is beside us, and we have come through the old gate up into the absolute stillness.

The acropolis stood on the highest peak almost in the center of the town, and the city walls themselves had a length of nearly three miles. We have no clue as to when either was built, but there are traces of earlier fortifications on the acropolis,—of a rough first wall of small extent and modest height, which did not much change the natural aspect of the ground; of a second wall not very different in extent and direction from the present one, though of less perfect workmanship. This, then, is the third acropolis. It is built in the most advanced technique of the polygonal style, with large blocks sometimes between three and four meters long, perfectly fitted, without any crevices to be filled in with smaller material. Faces and beds are carefully prepared. The door jambs and corners are strengthened by setting the upper blocks with a diagonal inward slant, and the same slant given to the wall itself prevents dislocation from internal thrust. For this third acropolis was given at its summit a broad expanse by making here a large artificial plateau at the highest level of the central peak after it had been quarried down.

When we measure some of the blocks we begin

to entertain quite a high opinion of the building capacity of these primitive engineers. The architrave over the main entrance is over five meters long, and nearly two meters wide. On the architrave of the minor gate is carved in the stone a group of three *phalli;* the two outer ones horizontal, the central one vertical. They had, of course, a religious meaning. Beside the two doorways with their passages leading into the bowels of the hill, there is a curious group of three quasi-openings, three niches, in the south wall. They are probably consecrated to three gods of the city and may have contained emblems or sculptures. An inclined plane in a passageway between two polygonal walls leads to the top from the main door; a flight of steps, in the same way, from the smaller one.

There is, besides, one very remarkable peculiarity about the access to the top. At present the third and common way is, not through the inside but along the outside by a gently inclined plane which one is tempted to regard as modern because it nullifies the defensive qualities of the citadel. But, beside the existence of the antique retaining walls which bound and support it, we find a proof of its construction under the Romans. This is an inscription which I will give here because it is by all odds the best explanation

of the way the prehistoric cities were transformed after they came under Roman rule. It reads:

L. Betilienus L. F. Vaarus | Haec · quae · infera · scripta | Sont · de · senatu · sententia | facienda · coiravit · semitas | in oppido · omnis · porticum · qua | in · arcem · eitur · campum · ubei | ludunt · horologium · macelum | basilicam · calecandam · seedes | lacum · balinearium · lacum · ad | portam · aquam · in · opidum · adou | arduom · pedes · CCCV · fornicesq | fecit · fistulas · soledas . fecit | ob · hasce · res · censorem · fecere · bis | senatus · filio · stipendia . mereta | ese · iousit · populusque · statuam | donavit · censorino.

This magistrate Betilienus Varus then, carrying out a decree of the senate, appears to have quite transformed the interior of the city. He reconstructed all the streets, built a colonnaded portico from the main gate to the top of the citadel, including evidently the creation of the above esplanade supporting this portico. Below, in the town itself, he established a forum where games could be held, placed here a public sun dial and surrounded it with public buildings, a market-hall, a basilica, public seats and a public bath. He also built a large cistern near the city gate and, best of all, brought water in on a high-pressure aqueduct at a height of three hundred and ten feet. The lead pipes had a diameter of ten centimeters and the source of the water supply on Monte Paielli was hardly six feet higher than the outlet. There are only five other Roman high-pressure aqueducts known and this one at Alatri is much the earliest, the others[1] be-

[1] They are at Pergamon, Laodicea and Aspendos in Asia Minor, and at Lyons and Arles in France.

ing of the imperial age. The most interesting fact is that this cistern and part of the aqueduct and of the portico have been found. The date of this transformation of Alatri is determined by the character of the inscription at about the time of the Gracchi, from 135 to 100 B.C. It has been determined that the colonnaded ascent had a passage 4.12 meters wide, ascending along the north flank of the citadel and that the columns, placed about 2.52 meters apart, supported an architrave with a Doric frieze, similar in style to what was current under the Republic from North Etruria to Campania.

I will refer only briefly to a small temple found, in very ruinous condition, outside the city gates. It was evidently of no importance, and is interesting only from the scarcity of the temples of the Republican era thus far unearthed. It had a single cella and a pronaos with only two columns on the front. The important part consists in the terra cotta decorations, which supplement those of Falerii in helping us to reconstitute the ornamental scheme of an Etruscan temple. It is reconstructed with its decoration and polychromy in the court of the Etruscan Museum (Villa Giulia) in Rome. Of the really important temples of Alatri not a trace has been found.

Ferentino, City Wall and Gate called "Porta Sanguinaria,"
(Lower part polygonal, upper part, fourth century B. C.)

Ferentino

At Ferentinum, the modern Ferentino, there is no such acropolis as at Alatri, but the city walls and gates are both better preserved, and also extremely curious in the way they show the juxtaposition of Roman work of the early Republican period above the original cyclopean masonry. Alatri was much higher in the hills, at five hundred and two meters, while Ferentino was on a gentler slope overlooking the broad valley, at only three hundred and ninety-three meters, and a city of greater size and importance.

The most imposing gate is now called Porta Sanguinaria. It originally either had a wooden architrave or was entirely of stone, and as it would have been impossible to span the doorway with a single block we must imagine in that case that the upper blocks projected and were cut back at their base, as in the gates of Signia and Arpinum, giving almost or entirely the effect of a pointed arch. We read in Livy that the Roman army in 413 B.C. attacked the Volscians at Ferentinum, captured the city which they had recently taken and gave it back to their allies the Hernicans, to whose territory it really belonged. Then, in 361 B.C., in an almost fratricidal war, the Romans captured it from the Hernicans. It was probably on one of these two occasions that the

partial destruction of the walls and gates took place. They were doubtless restored at once and, the fashion of cyclopean masonry having gone out in the fourth century, or else the Romans not ever having practised it, the repairs were in the new style, similar to that of the Servian wall. The straight architrave over the gates was replaced by the round arch, such as was also current in Etruria. There was no attempt to temper the transition from one method to the other. The contrast is obvious and violent.

Entirely of this later style and epoch is a most interesting and picturesque double gate below the walls. It is unique in this region, and perhaps the most important of its class in Italy. Only the arcades and their connecting walls remain. The upper part has disappeared. It was built on the usual plan of forcing the enemy as he approaches to face his unprotected side toward the city wall. But it is unusual in this that it does not lead directly into the city but into an approach parallel with the wall, as we shall see at Segni—a modification of the primitive scheme of defense. The broad single arch leads into an inclosed square court, which was entered by a similar arch at the opposite end. It is of the sort of simple Janus gates that we must imagine to

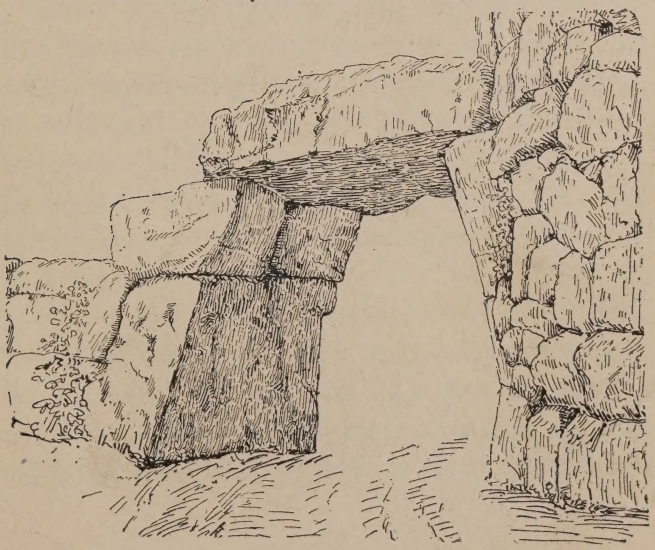
have existed at Rome: of its massive superstructure we can judge from the better preserved but somewhat later city gate at Aquinum (see p. 197). It is a fine piece of simple-course masonry and shows in what style the Ferentines would have built their city walls had they had the work to do shortly before or after 400 B.C. The method of complete alternate courses of headers and stretchers, here used, was current at least as early as the Servian walls and lasted until about the Augustan age, though displaced occasionally by the Hellenic type.

There is a passage in Livy (IV, 61) relating to the Volscian wars in 404 B.C. in this valley and these hills that needs quoting. "A pitched battle was fought with the Volscians between Ferentinum and Ecetra; the battle going in favor of the Romans, Artena, a Volscian city, was then laid siege to by the tribunes. During an attempt at a sally, the enemy was driven back into the town and an opportunity given to the Romans of forcing in, and every place was taken except the citadel. Into this fortress, well protected by nature, a body of armed men retired. Beneath the fortress many were killed and captured. The citadel was then besieged; but it could neither be taken by storm because it was held by a garrison sufficiently large to defend it,

nor could it be forced to surrender, all the corn having been conveyed into the citadel before the city was taken; and they would have retired from it, being worn out, had not a slave betrayed the fortress to the Romans. The soldiers being admitted by him through a place difficult of access, took it; the guards being killed, the rest, panic-stricken, surrendered. After demolishing both the citadel and the city of Artena, the legions were led back from the Volscian territory; and the whole Roman power was turned against Veii. To the traitor, besides his freedom, the property of two families was given as a reward. His name was Servius Romanus."

This is the fullest description I have seen of such a capture of a cyclopean city, and it helps to solve more than one puzzle. The so-called destruction could have been only partial, of course, and is an example of what probably happened at Ferentinum. In fact, the site of the destroyed Artena, as well as of Ecetra, seems to have been identified. Then again, it illustrates how important the citadel was in those cities, after the capture of the town. And finally we can explain from the extant ruins of the Hernican and Latin cities, the way in which the citadel of Artena was betrayed to the Romans. They were admitted "through a place difficult

Ferentino, City Gate, fourth century, B. C.



Segni, City Gate, before 500 B. C.

of access": that is, they did not scale the wall, neither did they come through a gate: Now, there are in all these walls certain small doorways which are evidently not ordinary means of access. In the citadel at Alatri there is one opening at quite a height above the city level. There is one on the left side of the main gate in the walls at Norba and Signia, through which one enters a long subterranean passageway. There are others in the city walls of Ferentinum, Aletrium, Circeii and other cities. Those of Praeneste were famous. The Etruscan sites like Clusium (Chiusi) are full of them. In fact, the ancient subsoil was honeycombed with vaulted passages which passed out through or beyond the walls.

There are two theories: one considers them to be sewers or outlets for the water, to protect the walls from disintegration; the other regards them as sally-ports by which the garrison could keep in touch with the outside or surprise the enemy. In my opinion most of them are sally-ports; the size of the opening and of the corridors proves it in a number of cases.

We cannot tell what system was used to protect these openings. But their existence solves in my mind the common objection to Livy's account of the way in which Camillus finally captured Veii. He is said to have done it by

running a mine under the walls and into the citadel itself, which, we are now told, would have been impossible to the engineers of that time. But if we can imagine that he gained entrance through one of these vaulted passages which led directly into the heart of the city, ending under the temple of Juno Lucina, the difficulty disappears. It is probable that it was in this way also that Norba was betrayed to Sulla, and that Fidenae was entered when it is said by Livy to have been captured by the Romans in 435 B.C. by a mine which reached to the citadel.

The doubt as to their use is by no means modern. Even in the time of Augustus, Strabo speaks of the two uses I have mentioned in connection with Praeneste. He says "the city was everywhere perforated by concealed passages, some of which are for carrying off the water, others for sudden sorties, in one of which the younger Marius was caught and killed when Praeneste was captured by Sulla." This is referred to by Appian.

Anagni

In one of those frank and charming letters that Marcus Aurelius as a boy wrote to his rather pedantic professor Fronto, he speaks of an excursion he made on horseback to Anag-

nia from the villa of his adoptive father, Antoninus Pius, at Lanuvium. "It is a small ancient town," he says, "but contains many antiquities, especially shrines of divinities and sacred memorials. There is no corner without some sanctuary, some chapel or some temple, and there are many books on sacred subjects written on linen. Upon leaving the town we saw cut on both sides of the gate these words: *Flamen Sume Samentum.* I asked one of the men in the town what this meant, and he told me the words were in the old dialect of Latium, being a direction to the priest, when he entered the gates, to place on his head the little piece of sacrificial hide which has been honored by tradition in the annals of the town. A great deal of other information, too, we were fortunate enough to obtain." This sacred bit of hide may have been from an animal sacrificed at the ceremony of founding the city. It was worked into a peculiar form of peaked headdress, which some ancient works have reproduced on the heads of Roman priests. This passage is one of the most interesting cases of local archæology in Roman literature coming from the mouth of a "college student" of the second century of our era.

Anagni makes, even now, a similar impression of intense religiousness. It was, during the Mid-

dle Ages, the birthplace and residence of several popes, and its episcopal palace and cathedral are reminiscent of the dastardly insult to Pope Boniface VIII by the envoys of King Philip le Bel, commemorated by Dante.

But Anagni was not always as small and quiet a town as Marcus Aurelius found it. Even Virgil calls it *dives Anagnia* and Silvius Italicus describes it as *pinguis*, for its territory was rich and fertile. So we can think of it in the last days of the Republic when Cicero, Brutus and other prominent Romans owned places here, as not fallen completely into the obscurity that had swallowed up most of the earliest cities. But of course she made her mark in history in the centuries before her ill-judged revolt against Rome in 306 B.C.

The ancient Anagnia of those days lay on the ridge of Monte Porciano above the point where the three highways from Rome joined to pass southward as one toward the Campanian border. Strictly speaking, I should have described it first instead of last among the Hernican towns. But it has lost everything of the primitive period of its history. It was just above it, at Compitum Anagninum, near where the tribal shrine to Diana was built and where the great meeting place of the Hernican people was, in what Livy calls

the Maritime Circus, that the Via Praenestina, after joining Rome to Praeneste, passed into the valley of the Trerus and was joined by the Via Labicana and the Via Latina. This made Anagnia the most important center as well as the capital city of the Hernicans. She guarded the neck of the valley on the north side of the river as Signia did opposite her on the south side. She is said to have sent aid to Rome in the fabulous days of King Tullus Hostilius, and was certainly the largest city in the valley. There is no reason to doubt that she was originally surrounded by the same kind of cyclopean walls as Verulae, Signia, Aletrium and Ferentinum, but they seem to have entirely disappeared,—torn down, perhaps, in 306 B.C.

The city resisted Pyrrhus when he advanced into Latium to attack Rome, and it was then probably surrounded by the walls we now see, which are among the most perfect of their class in Italy. They are built in regular courses of alternate headers and stretchers, of carefully tooled medium sized blocks of travertine, in the Hellenic rather than the Etruscan mode. Their circuit of irregular octagonal form can be followed almost completely, but only on the north side are they well preserved. In the center of this side is a particularly imposing section which

gives the original height of the wall, built of eighteen courses 0.55 meter high. At this point the walls make a decided double curve, across which, some time after, but still in quite early Republican times, a straight platform or loggia was flung, supported by four high piers connected by round arches. Between the line of piers and the walls is an interesting early barrel vaulting. On one of the piers is carved a phallus, the common religious emblem of the Hernican cult, and this rather leads to the supposition that this arcade was built to give the needed straight line bounding some sacred inclosure either above or below. The piers are bossed, a peculiarity not used in the walls, and at the spring of the arches there rise engaged columns with Doric plinths, on which rest square pilasters which must have supported some superstructure, perhaps an architrave, connected with the shrine or public building that overlooked the walls. This architectural feature of the structure has not, I think, been noticed. It is interesting, because so little detail of this early date remains in place in this part of Italy. The travertine blocks of the walls themselves have in their lowest courses, originally perhaps covered by earth, quite numerous mason's marks, which are among the most numerous and interesting of their class in pre-Augustan

times. They can be compared with those at Castrimoenium (Marino), Tyndaris, Pompeii, Cumae, in the Servian wall at Rome, and at the Porta Augusta in Perusia. If we set these travertine walls beside those also of Roman origin at Falerii, but built of the far coarser tufa and dating from about 240 B.C., the period of the Anagni wall seems decidedly earlier and this is confirmed by the character of the mason's marks.

Perhaps their greatest interest lies in the use one might make of them in arguing as to the age of the cyclopean style of polygonal masonry. Those among modern critics who do not believe in the early date of the cities of Central Italy with this style of walls, claim that the polygonal form of the blocks was due to the kind of stone used in this region, which naturally took this irregular form of cleavage in the quarries. They contend that had the soft tufa been the local stone here instead of limestone, the blocks would have been cut in quadrangular instead of polygonal shape. In their opinion the polygonal walls and the straight-coursed walls may not only be contemporary, but the polygonal walls may be later; that they were in fact used almost until imperial times. So these critics dub as childish fictions the claim of a pre-Roman epoch

for the majority of extant polygonal ruined cities. Their arguments seem to me decidedly weak, and these walls of Anagni suggest one of these weaknesses. They are in the heart of the region of polygonal masonry and had it not gone out of fashion when they were built would have been in the polygonal and not in the straight-coursed style. It is not as if travertine was not occasionally used as well as limestone for polygonal work. It is seen, for example, at Saturnia. If there is a material suited for squared blocks and unsuited to polygonal handling, it is the light, punky, volcanic tufa, that has no cleavage lines. In all other regions it is cut into squared blocks, but in the polygonal region of Latium it is sometimes tortured into polygonal and irregular shapes, as at Empulum and Tusculum. The most satisfactory explanation would seem to be that the different forms of the blocks were not caused by the different ways in which the various kinds of stone were easiest quarried, but were caused by different structural ideals and fashions.

Segni

All these Hernican cities were on the north side of the valley, but one naturally groups with them Signia, on the south side, not only because,

though it is a Latin and not a Hernican city, it is built in a similar style to Alatri and Ferentino, but because it joined hands with the Hernican cities in the early wars.

A sunrise from the top of Mount Soracte and from the acropolis at Segni are among the delights one remembers for many years. Signia is higher than any of the cyclopean cities we are studying,—higher even than Praeneste,—standing over two thousand feet (six hundred sixty-eight meters) on the highest northern spur of the Volscian mountains, separated from the range by a narrow valley. A colony was sent here, according to Livy and Dionysius, by Tarquinius Superbus in 510 B.C., and it was reinforced or restored in 495. It stands on a spur which projects from the mountain at a height of five hundred sixty-seven meters, and then rises to six hundred sixty-eight meters at the extreme end where the city was built somewhat in the same way as Praeneste. The Aequians had passed in beyond it toward the Alban hills, reaching as far as Velitrae; and Artena, which the Romans destroyed in 406 in the way I have quoted from Livy, was midway between them. Its natural strength was phenomenal and we have no record of its ever having been captured.

The modern town is ensconced in one corner

of the ancient circuit of walls. These walls are among the most extraordinary and perfectly preserved in the whole cyclopean district. The ancient city was not as large as Anagnia, to which it corresponded as watch dog on the opposite side of the valley, or as Norba, which was its twin guardian on the other side of the mountain. The reason is evident. The site was not selected because it commanded a fertile plain. On the contrary, it was too far in the hills. It was mainly a military station. The modern schools attribute its foundation and the building of its walls to about the year 495, when the Roman military camp was said to have been converted into a permanent military colony. In my opinion, however, the city preexisted and simply received a Roman garrison at that time. How many centuries before this I would not venture to suggest; probably two or three. Aside from the general proposition that I believe most walls of polygonal or cyclopean masonry to antedate this period of 495 B.C., two facts seem to me to point in this direction. These are: the city gates and the temple on the acropolis. Three main gates have been identified. The most conspicuous one, popularly called Porta Saracinesca, on the north side, is typical of them all. It is built of enormous

blocks, carefully bedded, and the upper stone on each side cut diagonally so as to shorten the space necessary to be covered by the architrave block. When we remember that the gates of Cosa and Norba were built apparently for wooden architraves, which was certainly a disadvantage and a defect in construction, it is a temptation to see in this scheme at Segni a later device to secure an all-stone gateway. But when we remember also the great age of the gallery at Tiryns with its similar arrangement, and the primitive gate at Arpinum, it seems more likely that the two schemes belonged rather to different schools than to different ages.

This Porta Saracinesca is interesting for its peculiar relationship to the city wall. It is not an opening in the walls, but built on at right angles to them, with the object of forcing the enemy to expose their unprotected right side in an attack, according to the scheme already noticed in the round-arched gate at Ferentino. It produces a short angle, breaking the circuit-curve of the walls, and marks an advance in method: the other gates, such as those of S. Pietro and in Lucino, are built on the same scheme. A sally port with flat architrave opens in the walls not far from the Porta Saracinesca to the east, and a second one farther on in the wall. The wall

circuit has the primitive characteristic of not being built in the least on a level but of following the undulations of the hill. The arrangement at Norba with its artificial terraces and levels is far less archaic. This is another argument for the antiquity of the wall of Segni, as the terraces at Norba seem to date from about 490 B.C. Signia, therefore, antedates the arrival of the Romans.

The acropolis is comparatively insignificant, and the main defense must have been the city walls. Here, however, are two notable buildings, the cistern and the temple, which stand close together. The cistern is an enormous circular well, with a diameter of about sixty-five feet (21.50 meters), built not of polygonal masonry like those in other cyclopean cities, but of quadrangular blocks of peperino on a foundation of *opus signinum*. As to the temple there is a heated controversy which makes of it one of the crucial monuments of the early Roman age. It rises on a three-stepped basement such as has been claimed to form the base for the open-air hieron or shrine of the primitive Latins, Sabines and other Italian races before the introduction of temples. These triple, pyramidal bases for worship can be traced in a number of early sites in Samnium, Sabina and elsewhere, but this one at Signia is not only well preserved but supports

an antique temple cella which has been converted into a church still in use. The basement, about ten feet high, is of the same polygonal blocks of white limestone as the walls, with the greater approach to horizontality required to pass to the flat top line and the square corners. But the temple cella resting on it is built of squared peperino blocks in regular courses, such as we have already noted in the cistern. It has lost the columns which probably formed its portico, but the cella walls are still intact. It is by far the earliest known temple cella in Latium or Etruria, antedating any other by two or three centuries. It has a triple division to prove its dedication to the Roman Capitoline triad then introduced. I think all authorities agree in dating it from about the time of the establishment of the Roman colony in 510 or 495 B.C. The only difference of opinion is whether its triple foundation is contemporary or earlier, and whether the cella replaced a primitive open-air shrine. Probably the cella has lost its decorative features of stucco and terra-cotta, which we might supply from the finds at Satricum, Alatri and Civita Castellana or even Capua. It gives us, at all events, another solid fact upon which to base reconstructions of temples of the age of the Tarquins. I believe that the triple base is earlier than

the temple cella, and that the Romans, not using polygonal masonry, brought the volcanic peperino from a distance in order to use it for their course masonry in the new Capitolium cella, as well as in the cistern. The local limestone could not readily be used, as we know, for course masonry. Here, again, it was the style that determined the choice of material, not the reverse.

At the same time (c. 495?) the Romans added to the walls and built a double city gate with arched openings: all of *peperino* squared blocks. This gate formed the main approach of the new colony. It has been destroyed, but we may infer that it resembled the arched gate of Ferentino.

III

The Via Appia and the Cities of the Pontine Plain

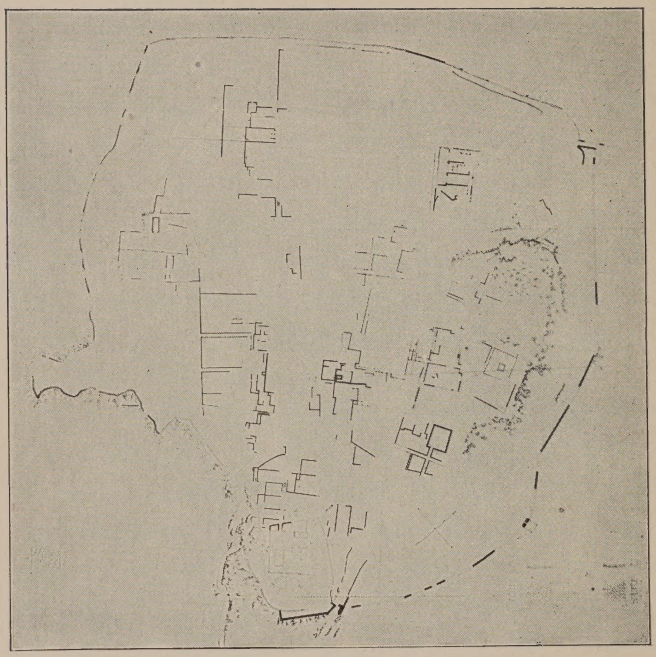
The Via Appia intersects the happy hunting grounds of the Latin people, as it takes its way in wavy straightness from Rome toward Alba and then after leaving the first spurs of the Volscian hills on its left shoots straight as a bullet across the Pontine plain to the southern boundary of Latium at Terracina.

Built by Appius Claudius in 312 B.C., it was the first of the great highways inaugurated by Rome to bind her yoke on an already subjugated region. It marked the close of the long struggle with the Volscians, the dissolution of the Latin league and the subjugation of Campania. To pass along it even now, as we easily can in an automobile, or on a long-tailed horse, loping and Campagna bred, or in an antique diligence, is to see on either side nearly all the ancient sites that made the drama of earliest Roman history.

On our way to the Alban hills we pass on the left Collatia, so soon absorbed by Rome; on the right Politorium, Tellene and Bovillæ, early Latin

towns of small size that soon fell into obscurity. Around the crater of the mountain were grouped, after the destruction of Alba, the important cities of Tusculum and Lanuvium, near which was the famous national shrine of Diana at Lake Nemi, where so many wonderful finds of the early Empire have recently been made. Just beyond it on a spur was Velitrae, at times a Volscian city, at times a Latin-Roman fortress, founded in about 500 B.C. to stem the tide of the Volscians' invasion when these tribesmen saucily placed a stronghold on nearby Mount Algidus, by which they threatened the seat of the Latin race.

The Appia then spans the gap between the Alban hills and the Volscian range of the Monti Lepini, a picturesque spur of the Apennines running parallel to the main range along the edge of the Pontine plain until it reaches the coast and the mountains at Terracina. We are still in the foothills. If we look seaward to our right we can place, near the water, Laurentum and Lavinium, earlier than Rome and even earlier than Alba, the sacred city from which the *penates,* or household gods, came to Rome. Then, only six miles farther, Ardea of the Rutuli, an important seaport, another of the primitive Latin cities and next to Rome and Alba the largest in Latium. Its circuit of tufa walls, built in part



Plan of Norba (ruins dating from eighth (?) to fourth centuries B. C.)

Plate IX

like the stretch of Servian wall on the Esquiline, can still be traced.

The insignificant Pollusca and Longula were farther inland; and nine miles beyond, set frankly on a rocky point of the coast line, Antium, which after being a Latin city became the metropolis, the richest city and northern bulwark of the Volscians, almost the rival of Rome, when they overran southern Latium and occupied the Pontine plain. Here the struggle with the Volscians was fiercest; here and on a parallel line drawn inland toward the mountains past Satricum, which also passed shuttlecock fashion from Latins to Volscians. Little appears of Ardea beside a few bits of wall. But recent excavations at Satricum have uncovered best of all the famous historic shrine of Mater Matuta outside of the city, in whose ruined stratifications, burnings and rebuildings, all traceable in the temple area, we see an epitome of these historic struggles in their various stages. The plan of the temple is Greek, not Etruscan, and it is perhaps the farthest north of any Greek temple. Hellenic is also the art of the terra-cottas from the different temples, now preserved in the Papa Giulio Museum. I saw them soon after the discovery and the coloring was wonderfully preserved.

In this neighborhood are some of the thick tangled *macchie* which were the refuge of malefactors, but so unhealthy as to be more deadly than a papal prison.

Here begins the real Pontine plain, now a dreary pestilential marshland, then as fertile in its way as the proverbial valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, and fallen as low in its estate. We can follow its border from Satricum through modern Cisterna to the mountain range below the rock of Norba. But as we stand once more on the Via Appia at this point, we must not forget that on our left, some five miles back, we have left high up on the mountain side the ancient Latin city of Cora with its well preserved triple circuit of polygonal walls and its very early bold bridge. When the Volscian invasion threatened upper Latium from the south Cora was not considered a sufficient protection and as an outpost Norba was selected, and it is Norba that will mainly furnish us with the means of judging these Latin cities of the middle period. In the plain, too, Suessa Pometia was built, a large and wealthy city, but not strong enough to escape repeated capture and early destruction.

From below Norba, the Appia, keeping strictly to the plain, begins its arrow-like flight in absolute straightness across the Pontine plain to the

shrine of Feronia near Anxur-Terracina. At present a depressing, sometimes fabulously beautiful, sometimes ghoulishly slimy and repellant stretch, it was always more or less unhealthy and marshy from the time of the late Republic. Aside from the picturesque and rocky Volscian hills on the left and the Ausonian mountains into which they dimly melt as they curve eastward, there is nothing to see but the rank and tall vegetation that hides the sea line on the right, the sluggish miasmatic canals and, directly in front, rising superbly out of the haze, the rock of Circe, Mount Circeii, almost parallel with invisible Terracina. In the thickets of this marshland there is a great variety of game—wild boar, wild duck, partridges, quail—and even now and then there emerges either a solitary tawny bull, or groups of the superb half-wild campagna cattle with their centaur-like shaggy-legged guardian cattlemen, who will survive long after the western cowboy will have sunk into innocuous desuetude.

Until one enters here upon the real marshland the hills have sent out ridges into the plain like the exposed roots of some large trees, but at and beyond Norba the rocks sink abruptly into the flatness below. One can throw a stone from the polygonal walls of Norba to fall nearly fifteen hundred feet straight into the springs of Ninfa.

Even along the mountain line, though a spot peculiarly sacred to their race, the Latins were obliged at this point to let go their hold. It was just here that in the old legend Saturn found a hiding place when he was expelled by Jupiter from heaven and gave civilization to the earth. From this *latibulum* the land was called Latium, say these fabulists, and from the god Saturnia. His earliest historic shrine was by them said to be near Setia. Setia, the next city to Norba, though strongly walled and strongly set on its rock, was occupied, it would seem, by the Volscians and not recovered until their power was broken, in 382 or 383 B.C., when it again received a Roman colony. Cyclopean walls, citadel circuit, bastion, temple sites can be studied here, though less perfectly than either at Cora or Norba. Setia commanded the first wide valley that leads deep into the Volscian hills and connects with the valley of the Sacco, the ancient Tolerus. Through this valley the Volscians poured into the Pontine plain from the northeast at some unknown time after 500, when Rome had been weakened by the expulsion of the Tarquins and the loss of Etruscan support. Near the mouth of the valley stood Setia on the west and Privernum on the east, both of which the Volscians captured. Privernum they kept until the

end, when Rome punished its obduracy by forcing the inhabitants in 318 B.C. to leave their hill city and build a defenseless one in the valley. Its ruins still exist, most inviting to the excavator, for it not only has monuments of the late Republican age, but superb sculptures of the time of Augustus and Tiberius. The favorite villa of Sejanus was here. I remember how one day years ago as I was on my way to see a primitive fort built by the Volscians at the neck of the valley, I listened to the song of a shepherd who was herding on the southern slope below the ruins of this villa. The first of the words to his song were:

Marciano, Marciano
Tutte le pecore son 'di Sejano.

The name of Sejanus and of his head herdsman! Strange survival of a local tradition for perhaps nineteen centuries!

Soon after passing by this opening in the range we reach the ruins of the famous shrine of Feronia, at the end of the last spur before Terracina. Here were fountain, grove and shrine, referred to by Virgil and Horace, founded, it was said, by Lacedemonians led to emigrate from Sparta out of discontent with the severe laws of Lycurgus. Now the marshland ends, and leaving Circeii towering to the right, we enter the

city which the ancients called both Anxur and Terracina.

Here was the southern frontier of Latium in the earliest times. Here were located some of the earliest legends. Here the magician Circe changed into a woodpecker her lover Picus, son of Saturn and king of the Ausonians. Under the Tarquins it was still Latin, but fell to the Volscians with the rest of southern Latium and was kept by them for nearly a century and a half. It is interesting to look across at Mount Circe and remember that while Terracina was still Volscian the Romans must have raided that mountain in 393 B.C., turned it into a fortress and a thorn in the side of the Volscians even though their communications with it could be only by sea until the conquest of the Volscians had been completed.

In fact, as Norba had been a defensive bulwark for Rome at the beginning of the struggle at the north end of its area, Circeii was placed as an offensive wedge in the south at its close. The two fortresses illustrate different types and periods and I shall study Circeii after Norba. Both are in splendid preservation.

Long before the building of the Appian way there had existed another great road in this region. In fact, the Appia had serenely disre-

garded every city between Velitrae and Terracina. Cora, Norba, Setia, Privernum had all to be reached by long stretches of special roadways branching from it. The Roman road was, we see, not designed for local communication, but as a great inter-provincial artery to establish communication with Campania and to insure the free despatch of troops from Rome to any southern point. From this time forward the intermediate cities were to steadily diminish in size and importance. They were no longer needed as fortresses in a completely friendly country. The loss of independence sent the more ambitious and able to Rome and other large centers. With the abandonment of the old system of free agriculture and the substitution of slave labor and large estates came the neglect of the old network of underdrainage. Soon after there commenced the gradual subtle inroads of malaria, reaching up farther and farther from the coast line and from the south. The source of the wealth of the old towns failing, they first became fossilized and then decayed.

But we are not concerned with this decay that went on during the third and second centuries B.C. What these antique cities represent in history is a stage of culture corresponding in Rome to the age of the kings and the earliest Republic.

It was then that they lived their full life. At that time a highway was built not on the plain but quite high above it, more than half way up the mountain side. It first connected Velitrae with the cities of the Alban hill and Rome itself and then joined Velitrae to the Volscian hillside at Cora. Then leaving Cora it crossed a torrent by a bridge which even as it stands is of the Republican age,—perhaps pre-Appian,—for it is constructed of three superposed lines of archivolts like the Cloaca Maxima. It followed the hillside to Norba, rising to its gates in zigzags and then passing out and down to the narrow valley of the Visciola. Its line can be traced not only to Setia but beyond until it debouches above the Amaseno valley in front of Privernum.

I do not believe that any one before myself had tracked continuously the line of this pre-Appian highway. I had it surveyed over the entire stretch from Cora to Setia. It was no easy job to trace it on account of the many early polygonal retaining walls that still lined the hillside and others that in the distance fooled one into thinking them ancient. It is now quite a general opinion that these ancient retaining walls were the foundations for lines of buildings along the hillside. I shall refer to them later. Of course the highway was also supported by a line

Plate x

Norba, Principal Gate in Second Circuit with Round Tower

of walls which differed from the roughest of the early city walls only in their superior roughness. After certain preliminary rambles from Norba as a center I started from Cora to really make a consecutive tracing of the road and walked all the way to Terracina. When I got there my shoes were all askew and my feet huddled into their right sides from walking steadily on a steep slant for four days in one direction, so that while I was inclined to give myself up for my return to the luxury of the stuffy diligence, I was obliged, in order to restore their shape, to walk back along the same hillsides!

My consequent intimacy with these hillsides certainly had one good result. Nothing else would have given me so strong and close a sense of the antique life here in prehistoric times. In thinking of these cities we must eliminate our ideas of modern life and even of Roman life—the life of the city. For these Latins, Hernicans and Volscians, the life was that of the country, strange as this may seem when we look at their grandiose walled cities. The cities held, it is true, most of the temples; the acropolis or citadel on the highest point was supplemented by one or two enormously strong lines of walls, sometimes concentric, sometimes in superposed terraces. The circuit of the walls was in some cases two,

three or even four miles in length, so that Tiryns and Mycenae were small in comparison. And yet we must look upon these cities as mainly the refuge of the inhabitants in times of danger and the center of their government. The life was essentially agricultural; more so than that of most other groups of peoples in Italy, though they had rivals in the Umbrians and Sabines. There was not the development of art, of commerce and of industry that we find on either side of them in Etruria and in Campania or even in Latium. No fleets brought imported works, no pampered aristocracy existed, no luxurious works of art were produced. It was a plain, hard-working people.

For them the unit remained the territory, the land. The city was mainly the means by which it could be kept. Here as elsewhere not only each city but each territory was marked out by a ditch and consecrated by the priesthood,—a general Italic custom. Where the highway entered the territory it was often defended by a fortress. I found these unique and primitive polygonal blockhouses on the border lines between Privernum and Setia, between Setia and Norba and between Cora and Norba. I do not believe they have ever been noticed or at least recognized as forts.[1]

[1] They can be traced elsewhere, however. Near Amiternum is a Cyclopean wall nearly forty feet high connected with the

In the plain, other blockhouses defended the approaches to the hillside, like that below Norba, just above the station. It was outside the walls, along the hillside, that line upon line of farmhouses supported by the retaining walls I have mentioned were built; and to each citizen was probably assigned a lot on the Pontine plain below, from which came all the agricultural wealth of the community. We can well imagine the temporary wattled huts in the plain and on the hillside, after the type of the cabin urns, because such huts are still built by the herders and shepherds for the same purposes, not only on the Pontine plain but north of Rome in the corresponding stretches of the Maremme. Several passages show that in times of peace a large part of the people not only stored their produce but lived outside the walled towns, in villages, farmhouses and villas, the destruction of which is recorded. So that beside these primitive huts we must visualize the hillsides as thickly sprinkled with more substantial buildings. In all this region where now hardly a soul is to be seen there were several hundred thousand people in the period between the fourth and the eighth centuries before Christ.

natural rock of a ravine whose purpose of marking the boundary between the Sabines and the Vestini was marked even in Roman times by a terminal cippus inscribed FINES SABINORVM.

Researches by M. de la Blanchère have given some inkling of the painstaking and efficacious methods by which these ancient tribesmen worked their land and made of the present desert a garden. He discovered elaborate networks of passages, some of which were large enough for a man to explore, and built of well constructed stonework. They were evidently intended to use for carrying off water and for underdraining the lowlands where water would otherwise stand. This careful system made it possible to utilize every inch of ground and it honeycombed the whole district from the Alban hills to Terracina.

There is an abundance of material in this region. Both Cora and Setia have magnificent remains of their polygonal walls and foundations of temples of the early period, and at Cora there are two temples of the Hellenistic age. Something remains of the Privernum of the Republic, though the site of the cyclopean city was so well destroyed by the vindictive Romans that it has not even been located. But in this wealth I shall concentrate on Norba, on Circeii and Terracina, for though I am tempted to speak of Satricum, all that was interesting there has been removed and the site is too unhealthy to visit.

Norba

I once spent about two months in a survey of

the ruins of Norba, on a daily diet of cold pork chops. To be sure the porkers were raised on the spot. In fact, their favorite abiding place for centuries had been a large and mysterious cavern that seemed to extend from the face of the cliff overhanging the plain into the heart of the city in the direction of the main group of temples. I was curious to know whether it could actually have reached under the foundations of the temples and connected with their *favissae,* for then I hoped to find a mass of broken pottery, utensils, and offerings thrown down by the priests during several centuries. But my curiosity could never be satisfied. Each time I was driven back by legions of predatory fleas, installed there from generations in harmony with the pigs. The combination was too strong.

Norba seemed then to me and still seems the most promising of the ruined cities of early times in Italy. I once hoped to excavate it and some day I may tell the story of why this could not be done. Spurred on by our survey, the Italian Department of Fine Arts, after denying to our School of Classical Studies the privilege of completing the survey by some modest excavations, proceeded itself to excavate. Its archæologists have all, apparently, joined the phalanx of those who believe in the late date of these polygonal

cities, and in their excavations they seem to have mainly concerned themselves with discovering proofs that Norba was not founded before 492 B.C., when the Roman colony was sent there. In fact they tried to prove that it was a thoroughly Roman city. Now, it is recognized by Roman historians as a general custom in the establishment of Roman colonies that wherever possible they were sent to already existing centers of population. There are hardly any exceptions to this rule. It was a peculiarity which distinguished the Romans from the Greeks, who were in the habit of choosing fresh sites. The passage of Livy reads, in the year 492, *"et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani et Norbae in montis novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt."* There is nothing in its wording to prove that Norba did not preëxist. The corresponding passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus shows how we should interpret it, for, after speaking of the reinforcing of the colony at Velitrae, he says: "A few days after, a new colony was sent to Norba, *a city of the Latin people of considerable importance.*" This qualification applied to Norba proves that in the opinion of Dionysius and his sources Norba was already a well known city before 492 B.C. Now, if archæologists set aside preconceived notions to

the contrary, they will easily find proofs of this in the ruins themselves, and see just how the Roman colonists enlarged and strengthened the older city after their advent.

The situation of Norba is not only strong, on a ridge jutting out southward, but it combines the abrupt and dramatic picturesqueness of stony slopes and naked ledges with a background of richly wooded hills and with the soft and veiled monotony of the moist plain and distant sea line. The descent to the springs of Ninfa that bubble out of the base of its limestone cliff, fifteen hundred feet below, is so steep as to be almost perpendicular. Its ridge makes a break in the long line of the Volscian hills, and it was far better suited than either Cora or Setia to check the Volscians.

A short and poorly run local railroad, almost unused by foreigners or even by Italian tourists, runs southeast from Rome to Terracina. It is a unique experience to get out of the train at the Norba[1] station and to find oneself at the gates of the medieval town of Ninfa, abandoned since the fourteenth century on account of malaria. Many years ago Gregorovius vividly described in his

[1] The excursion to Norba is an easy one from Rome. The morning train gives plenty of time to visit the ruins, lunch there or at the modern village of Norma and return by the afternoon train to Rome. By writing beforehand to the "Sindaco" of Norma, a mount and a guide will meet one at the station.

Journal the gorgeous colors of the flowers and vines that almost conceal the masses of its ruined unroofed churches and monasteries, walls and towers. Around and through it stand rather than move the waters of the famous stream *ad Nymphas* that give to it its name, still frequented by many enthusiastic fishermen for its large and delicately flavored trout. There are some dim frescoes on the walls of one church. The little town hall is even in fair preservation; but the only sign of modern life is a mill. We cannot be certain of it, but it is quite probable that when ancient Norba on the cliff above was destroyed, the few survivors were forced as a punishment to build in the plain a town that could not be easily defended.

A causeway zigzags up the steep mountain until in about two miles it passes near the ancient city and on to the modern Norma which has adopted its name and was probably settled not much before the Renaissance by the fever-stricken refugees from Ninfa below. For up here they are far above the dangerous fever zone.

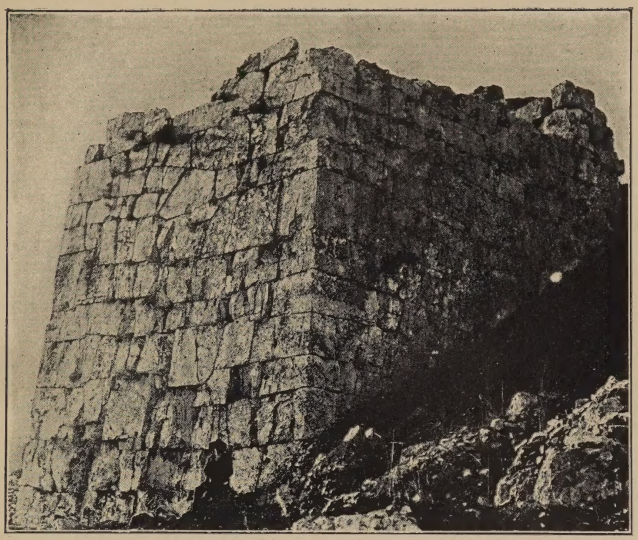
Even before starting up the causeway from the plain, the eye perceives traces of the prehistoric city: a sort of blockhouse that defended the approaches from the lowlands, long and fugitive lines of polygonal masonry striating the slope at various levels, and having evidently

served as foundations for the numerous villas or farming establishments that formed a sort of suburb to the fortified city and were the headquarters for the cultivation of the territory in the plain.

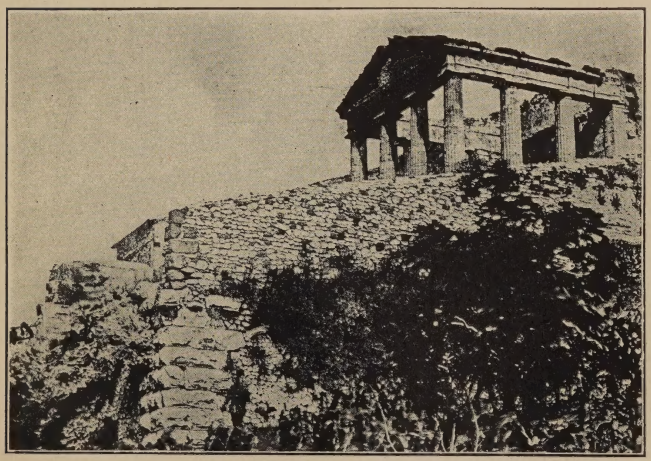
Before we reach the ruins the old passage in Appian's history of the civil war prepares us. It is dramatic in its brief simplicity. He is telling of the last days of the struggle between Marius and Sulla, when the Italian commonwealths, which had practically all of them sided with the defeated democratic party of Marius, were being decimated or destroyed. After the destruction of Praeneste, Norba was last in the hopeless struggle, besieged by Sulla's general, Aemilius Lepidus. He could not capture it, but "was admitted in the night by treachery. The inhabitants were maddened by this treason. Some killed themselves or fell on each other's swords, others strangled themselves with ropes. Still others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no plunder was left in it. In this way did these stout-hearted men perish." This is the requiem of Norba worthy to stand beside the defense of Saguntum. Since that time, 82 B.C., it has not been lived in as a town. The principal signs of later life are the

villas of some Romans of the Empire and a few medieval graves. Sulla probably gave the site to one of his followers, as he did other cities that he destroyed, or else it was auctioned off to the highest bidder. What we shall see then, at Norba, is earlier than 82 B.C. This is not the opinion of the Government archæologists, who believe that temples and city were rebuilt under the Empire. This seems more than doubtful to me, any more than the Byzantine fragments prove a medieval township.

As we approach it we can trace the ancient pre-Appian road that joined it to its two neighbors on either side, to Cora on the side toward Rome and to Setia in the direction of Terracina. We enter Norba by a large fortified gateway on the southeast corner, defended on the right by a large circular bastion. The wall circuit of about seven thousand feet with its gateways is practically complete. In comparison with later cities it is not large, and is, of course far smaller than great Etruscan cities like Veii. Standing on the summit of a rocky ledge, there has been in all these two thousand years but a slight accumulation of earth over the site; several streets with their sidewalks, three temple groups, the city reservoir, several well and treasure chambers, some civil buildings and the walls which divide



Norba, Bastion in Second Circuit



Cori, Temple of Hercules

Plate XI

the city into terraces can still be seen inside the walls.

The special fascination of Norba, aside from its situation, is its state of desertion. Its only use is to grow grain. There is no modern and medieval city obliterating the old. Run a pointed stick a foot into the ground and you may hit the ancient sidewalk. The original street is almost on the surface. We can see exactly how the different levels were obtained by lines of artificial terraces supported by retaining walls of the same cyclopean construction as those of the outer city. I do not believe that on any other ancient Italian site north of Magna Graecia, the city walls inclose so many traces of buildings.

The special points of interest are the two towers or bastions, one circular and the other square; the two acropolis hills with their buildings; the hillock overlooking the Pontine plain; the large and small cisterns; the various gates and posterns, with their subterranean passages.

It is very unusual to meet with towers in cyclopean city walls. Beside these at Norba none have been noticed except the far more numerous and regularly disposed towers at Cosa and the possible bastion at Alatri. They are certainly a sign of a more advanced military science, and I should assign these at Norba to

the time of the arrival of the Roman colonists. The city must then have been enlarged and this was done on the side opposite the Pontine plain by the construction of an artificial terrace extending from the main gate (Porta Maggiore) with the circular bastion at least as far as the next main gate, the Porta Signina. As the city level along this line was not much above the surrounding ground the wall was made unusually high, and was strengthened at its principal angle by a projecting square bastion, which is the largest as well as the earliest of its class in ancient Italy.[1] It is nearly forty feet wide at its base and still rises to a height of about forty feet. Some of its stones are ten and twelve feet long.

How much higher it originally was cannot be determined, but both wall and tower must have risen considerably above the level of the terrace. It has been asserted that this was not so: that in no case in these cyclopean fortifications did the walls rise above the interior level of the city. The walls of Norba are conclusive evidence to the contrary. Along nearly the whole northeast side we find a second wall running parallel to the outer wall; the space between was filled up and

[1] Dennis asserted that while at Cosa, Volterra and Rusellae the walls rose above the inner level, this never was done in the cities of the Latin, the Volscian and the Hernican hills.

the level of the *chemin de ronde* was reached by inclined planes and staircases of which undoubted traces remain, marked also by breaks in the inner wall. What is true of Norba was probably true of other cities. We shall find it true, somewhat later, at Circeii. Of course, for the greater part of their height the city walls, here and elsewhere, were merely retaining walls, banked with earth or built against the natural hillside. There is everywhere a considerable batter.

The use of the circular bastion at the Porta Maggiore is an even greater sign of advanced military knowledge. Until quite a late date the Romans clung to the far inferior form of square towers whose angles could so easily be dislocated by attacking machinery. It was from the far more scientific Orient that the more invulnerable circular bastion may have come into use in Italy in the same way as it was re-introduced into Europe from the Orient at the time of Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus by the engineers of the returning crusaders. This circular tower at Norba has, therefore, an historic interest, as apparently the first of its type in Italy and the west. The gate it defends is about twenty-five feet wide and could hardly have been spanned by a stone architrave even with the device used at Signia: so we must complete it with a wooden

beam which was undoubtedly consumed by the fire of 82 B.C. I discovered, by the way, numerous traces of this fire among the ruins of the city.

I imagine that before the Roman colonists of 492 B.C. built this new stretch of wall with its great gate, the main entrance to Norba had been just around the corner to the southwest where a gate of considerable size (Porta Ninfina) stands just below the minor acropolis. The early road which enters here bifurcates in two directions, one descending to the plain, the other keeping on the upper slope. Inside both these gates I noticed certain walls connected with them and with the city walls which formed a sort of irregular *place d'armes* or court which could be defended in case the enemy stormed the gates. It is the embryo of what the Roman engineers before the Augustan age developed into an architecturally symmetrical inner court such as we shall see at Cosa, at Spello, at Aosta and several other cities.

Another addition to the city by the Roman colonists may have been all that part toward the cliffs overlooking the Pontine plain which is beyond the long line of inner bastions. This includes the hillock on which stood the temple of Juno, which is partly artificially formed with materials that cannot be of earlier date.

This means, of course, that the internal arrangements and levels of the city on this side were changed. The two centers of the primitive city seem to be undoubtedly the two acropolis hills. That on the very outer edge of the city, immediately to the left as one enters Porta Maggiore, is quite small and holds nothing but two temples with their sacred inclosure or temenos. Each temple seems to have had a separate approach; that on the right by a staircase, that on the left by an inclined plane. Their stylobates still stand intact, but all the superstructure has disappeared. Stylobates, temenos wall and encircling walls are all of polygonal cyclopean masonry. From fragments of columns and terra-cottas it is evident that the temples were rebuilt in the second or third century B.C., and that they were of the usual type of cella and pronaos with columns first of wood covered with terra-cotta and then of stuccoed stone. Evidently this was a sacred hill; not the *arx* or citadel, which stood on the larger acropolis hill farther north.

On the citadel hill, also, there was a temple. In the case of the others we cannot say to what deities they were dedicated, but the excavations have shown that this was a temple of Diana. An archaic head which originally belonged to her

cult-statue is in the style of the sixth century and is another proof of Norba's preëxisting the Roman colony. To give Diana a supreme position was quite natural to the Latins and cognate tribes. The shrine of Diana at Nemi near Aricia was the national religious center of the Latin league; that of the Hernican cities was the shrine of Diana at Compitum; the attempt by the Tarquins to make Rome the arbiter of Latium was marked by the building of a national Latin shrine to Diana on the Aventine. So it would not be out of place to consider this temple at Norba as the original shrine of the city previous to the advent of the Roman colony, and to consider the other temples as later. Perhaps the temple of Juno in the new part of the city overlooking the plain was the shrine of the new colonists.

At the foot of the acropolis is an enormous open cistern, nearly one hundred feet square, which supplied the whole city with water. It is built of the usual polygonal masonry, but the stones instead of being simply laid up dry are bedded in cement. The floor also is of heavy cement which I have had analyzed and which seems of peculiar interest since it is about the earliest known mixture on a large scale for a watertight floor. Of course there are other small cis-

terns in different parts of the city. One of quite primitive construction is in the sacred acropolis, for the use of the priests of the temples. It is a circular well, vaulted in the usual primitive pseudo-domical way by projecting horizontal courses of masonry. Another cistern, less ancient, is of peculiar constructive interest because its covering is formed of two intersecting barrel vaults of unusual construction, showing a primitive and tentative use of this method of attaining a sort of cross-vaulting. It is in its small way the most interesting piece of construction in Norba, and is situated southwest of the large cistern.

Almost parallel with the city walls on the side facing the Pontine plain is the line of retaining walls which divided the lower and newer from the middle and older city, supporting a terrace which joined the level of the hillock of the temple of Juno. Between blocks this terrace was reached from the lower city by inclined planes which connected the streets of the two sections. This difference of levels added picturesqueness to the city.

It would not be possible or interesting to give a technical demonstration of the various styles of cyclopean masonry used in the walls of Norba, nor to attempt a chronological arrangement of

them. I hope to do this some time in a more technical study. One thing is interesting; that the quarries for the stone were found partly, if not wholly, on the site itself. They can be located both on the northeast and southwest sides within the walls. Another thing is that the least ancient part of the walls, that on the northeast, is also the least well preserved; it has been partly dislocated by the pressure of the artificial terrace behind it, and partly cast down to the level below.

Before leaving Norba I must say a word about its necropolis, because hereby hangs a tale. While I was at work there, a peasant brought me a few objects from a tomb of the iron age which interested me extremely because thus far not a trace had been discovered of the necropolis of Norba. I could not get any clue from him as to the spot where these things were found. Needless to say, I prospected on all sides of Norba for traces of tombs and found none. When the government archæologists decided to excavate here they not only examined the entire neighborhood but dug trial trenches in all likely spots. They went northward toward the hills and southward toward the plain without finding a trace. Then to the southeast, after descending to the plain and beginning to rise again toward Sermoneta, a necropolis was discovered of considerable ex-

tent and of very early date. In fact the objects found belonged to the iron age. They were several centuries earlier than the date settled upon by the government archæologists as that of the founding of Norba and could not very well be dated later than the eighth or seventh centuries. Some ruined tombs were found above the monastery of Valvisciolo. Evidently the similar objects brought to me years before by the peasant had been from this necropolis. *Vade retro Satanas!* Avaunt! These graves must not, cannot, be of the inhabitants of Norba. It mattered not that they are in just the position we should expect them to be from the analogy of Etruscan cities, where the necropolis is not usually in the hill on which the city itself is built, but on the nearest available slope. It mattered not that the government archæologists had themselves proved there was no necropolis in any other direction. It mattered not that the distance between Norba and this necropolis was less than in a number of Etruscan cities. Norba must go without any necropolis whatever rather than that the pet theory that Norba was not founded until 492 B.C. should be overthrown!

And so they invented a hypothetical town, a small one to be sure, but a town earlier than Norba, marked by a few walls on the hill-

side not far above this necropolis. It so happens that they were not the first to discover these walls; both my surveyor and I studied them and decided that they were not of early date, but were probably put up in the Middle Ages for the protection of the Cistercian abbey of Valvisciolo! It seems to me quite clear that in these tombs we should recognize that part of Norba's necropolis in which its earlier inhabitants were buried and that further researches in this region will probably bring to light the later tombs, at a greater distance.

It was a great pleasure to me while at Norba to do the honors of the place to the Government Archæological Commission which came down to investigate the work I was doing. To all of them, in fact to every Italian archæologist except Rodolfo Lanciani, Norba had been until then a sealed book and none of them had visited her. Since then they have shown much interest.

The truth probably is that Norba was a city founded not long before or after the eighth century, enlarged and strengthened in about 492 and changed in the regular course of events until its destruction in 82 before Christ.

What I would have to say about the cyclopean ruins of Setia and of Cora would be in a way repetitious. There is, to be sure, a variant at

Terracina, Substructures of Temple of Jupiter

Cora in the arrangement of the walls, which are terraced in three circuits. But Cora needs visiting on account of quite another architectural feature: its two temples. They are, both of them, of the late Republican era, and in their age and preservation are paralleled only by the two temples of Tivoli. In both cases the picturesqueness of their site, jutting out at the edge of the town, with a superb view over an extensive valley, adds to their intrinsic beauty. They have been shown to exemplify the Hellenic variations from horizontal and vertical lines to produce certain optical effects. One of them was probably the Capitolium temple and the other the temple of Castor and Pollux which stood at the approach to the square of the forum in the position appropriate to their character of guardians of the city and messengers of Jupiter. The forum was evidently remodeled under Sulla, or shortly before, for the retaining wall of the square in front of the Capitolium,—which is popularly called the temple of Hercules,—is constructed of *opus incertum* that points to this age.

Terracina

It remains to visit Terracina and Circeii, at the southern end of the plain. At Terracina the Via Appia was brought to a halt at the seaboard

by a sharp rocky ledge projecting into the sea and forming the last offshoot of the Ausonian range. The Roman engineers at first shirked the difficulty by carrying the road over the hill but later they decided to cut away the face of the rock and have left on its surface their marks and measurements in lengths of one hundred twenty feet which we still can read. The rock called Pisco Montano now rises like a needle.

Terracina is the only one of all the ancient cities we have passed which bridges the chasm between the legendary age and the Empire. On account of its healthy position beyond the marshes, its excellent port and its central location between Rome and Campania, it never lost importance. Augustus rebuilt its forum and Capitoline temple. The temple remains, one of the best preserved examples in Italy of Augustan architecture. The cella wall still keeps in its rear a large part of the rich marble revetment which at just this time was taking the place of the stucco. The Appia, in traversing the city, entered the upper end of the forum through an arch which still remains in part. Even the flags of the area of the forum are in place, with the unique distinction of bearing the signature of the architect, Artorius Primus, evidently the author of the whole scheme, — the temple, the

memorial arch adjoining it, the square, the Augusteum. Tiberius also liked the city. Trajan, when he repaired the Appian way, began the works on the port that were completed by Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and made of it one of the finest on the coast.

Then, if we follow the ancient road out of the town and up along the hillside to the northeast we find it lined at intervals with ancient sepulchral monuments, which give a better impression of such an arrangement than any other road I have seen besides those of Rome and Pompeii, which are, of course, infinitely superior.

The interest and uniqueness of Terracina are increased by the colossal substructures that crown the hill overlooking the city. They consist of lines of high and broad vaulted arcades of excellent brickwork on which some structure of great size and magnificence must once have stood. The vulgar named it Palace of Theodoric, because the Gothic king was known to have liked the city and to have lived here. But the brickwork has recently been found to be of the finest Augustan or even pre-Augustan type and excavations have shown it to be the substructure for a large temple of Jupiter Anxur, the famous youthful, beardless Jupiter, the boy god, son of Saturn. In a way it must have almost rivaled

the temple of Fortune at Palestrina, with which it was closely connected. They were respectively the northern and southern outposts and beacon-lights of Latin faith. If one stands on this rocky promontory, jutting into the sea at a height of over a thousand feet, I think the site will give one a strong sense of the hypnotic effect of one of these wonderfully situated ancient shrines, whether on a mountain top or by the sea. Certainly the original shrine was earlier than Augustus and coeval with the city. No substructures of this monumental character exist elsewhere. The gulf of Gaeta on the left, the free sea in front, Circeii and the marshes to the right form the panorama.

Terracina is still a vivid bit of color. The old town away from the hideous modern port, especially around the cathedral square, is often crowded with people of oriental blood or dressed in strong oriental colors, — a breath from the Levant. One feels, as at Ravenna, that there was here no great break between ancient and medieval life, and that since the Middle Ages, when Byzantium helped to bridge the chasm, there has happened nothing new. Seen in the rear, from one of the narrow streets filled with antique color, the cella of the Capitol temple has so much of its marble revetment, mellowed by

time, that one expects to see its gable rise in the square, in place of its gorgeous medieval Campanile. But the columns of its porch are those of the temple portico, and on one of them is a most curious link with the past, one of the few public Byzantine inscriptions, stating that the church and square were repaired and cleaned under the Byzantine emperor Constantine in the eighth century. The cathedral itself was rebuilt by those wonderful neo-classic semi-oriental artists of medieval Rome and filled with their furniture and pavements of mosaic inlay.

When we remember the stretch of polygonal wall remaining from the Latin-Volscian city, below the forum, the ancient shrine of Jupiter Anxur, the Augustan forum, the Antonine port and the double line of mausoleums outside the walls, Terracina seems well worth a visit, regardless of its wonderful scenery and picturesqueness and, not the least, of the fact that here one can take boat to Circeii.

Circeii

We took a small boat at Terracina for the excursion of about twelve miles across the bay to the promontory of Circeii, the southernmost military colony of early Latium. It is a huge rock rising like a bleak island from the sea to a height

of over sixteen hundred feet (five hundred forty-one meters). There seems but little doubt that this was the fabled island of Circe, that never really was an island, but appeared so to the ancient mariners as they passed. Only as the boat nears it, do we see that its base joins the long stretches of the lowest marshes furrowed with a network of canals.

This excursion is only for the hardy if one wants to reach the citadel of Circe itself. We land at the east end. Here, not far from the water, at the modern village of S. Felice, seems to have been the original settlement, judging from the traces of polygonal walls. But the really interesting ruins are on the east end of the long ridge forming the top of the mountain. It is now called *Civita* or Monte della Cittadella. Here is a rectangular citadel, about one hundred and ninety by ninety-five meters, with heavy polygonal walls of superb construction, tapering at times from a thickness below of nearly two and one-half meters to one at the summit of about one and one-half meters. Here, as at Norba, the walls rise above the inner level to show that they had a *chemin de ronde* and perhaps battlements.

The special interest of this citadel is that it is quite distinct from the city, which is far below it, at S. Felice. A long and steep causeway, pro-

Sarcophagus from Caere in Louvre Museum

Sarcophagus from Citta della Pieve

tected by two solid polygonal walls, runs up the mountain straight from city to citadel. We had seen this at Praeneste; but here at Circeii it is even plainer, and the citadel exists almost intact, while at Praeneste it has disappeared.

It was in 393 B.C. that the Romans, beginning a determined and steady attempt to win back the Pontine plain, captured Circeii by a raid and established a colony there, with which they could hold communication only by sea for many years until the intervening region was annexed. The walls of the citadel show the careful tooling and close joints that we usually associate with the later polygonal style like that of Cosa or the later work at Norba.

The site is an ideal one for a prehistoric fortress. The ancients appreciated its poetry. Even now it is exquisite, though part of the scene is desolate. We look down on the lush vegetation that chokes the long canals, follow the thin border line toward Rome marked by ruined medieval watch towers and on the other side the more clearly modulated coast past Terracina to Gaeta and beyond, with the Vesuvian smoke tingeing the farthest background.

The nymph and magician Circe had her temple on another one — the highest, — of the ten peaks on the island, and the polygonal altar sub-

structures show reconstructions of the shrine as late as the Empire. But her cave, as local traditions have it, is at the water's edge, looking seaward.

Some modern scholars insist that the Latin colony sent to Circeii in 393 was the first one, and marked the founding of the city. This I do not believe. Both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus ascribe the sending of an earlier colony here in 510 by Tarquinius Superbus at the same time that the colony was sent to Signia. They also both relate that Coriolanus captured it for the Volscians in 488 and expelled the Roman colonists, who were then distinct from the natives. We infer two things from these texts: that there may have been a city here *before* 510; and that its inhabitants did not mix with the Roman colonists. Why is it not natural to infer that Tarquin's Roman colonists lived in the citadel and the *oppidani* in the city below? They sympathized with the Volsci and opened their gates to them, which would be easy if we suppose the Roman garrison to have been in the citadel above. I would attribute, then, the city walls at S. Felice to an early date, previous to 510, when the Roman colonists came and built the citadel in imitation of that at Praeneste, connecting it with

the city by the causeway.[1] When the new colony of 393 was sent probably few structural changes occurred, but when the whole of the Pontine plain came into Roman possession, the two colonies of Norba and Circeii received the lion's share, as being with Setia the only Latin colonies in this region, and their size and prosperity must have materially increased.

[1] I am quite willing to be considered old-fashioned in giving weight to the two Roman historians. In this case their narrative certainly harmonizes with the treaty of Rome and Carthage in 509, which includes this section in Latium.

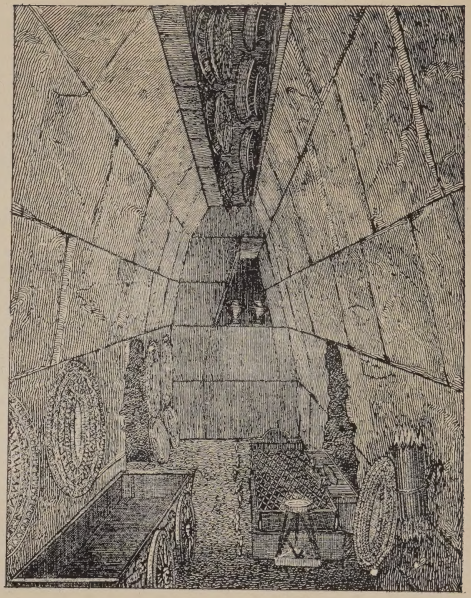
IV

Rome and Etruria

On entering the Etruscan borders a veil of mystery as alluring and as baffling as the Sphinx seems to descend and make every step uncertain. In presence of the immense variety of material and of conjecture, it would be easy to pass beyond what is necessary to illustrate the central purpose of this book, which is to elucidate Rome and her relations to ancient Italy. The temptation to discuss "origins" is almost irresistible; we feel that the antiquities of Etruria have a more direct bearing upon the outward form of early Roman civilization than any other group in Italy. After granting Latin supremacy in internals, we concede Etruscan supremacy in externals. We cannot split hairs in a discussion as to whether the tombs of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. in Southern and Central Etruria, whose contents, while richer and more varied, are similar in character to those of Latium, represent the Etruscans themselves, or an Italic

Plate XIV

Narce, Tomb of a Warrior (VIII-VII cent. B.C.)



Caere, Interior of Regulini-Galassi Tomb, VII Century (Canina)

race which preceded them before the Etruscan conquest.[1]

The Etruscan inhabitants even in their own persons, as they are reproduced in sculptures and paintings, help to confuse our judgment. We are prepared to find at least two distinct physiological types; a dominant Etruscan and a subject Italic race, the latter with many variants. But, knowing the aristocratic constitution of Etruria, the fact that the subject races and the populace were allowed no share in the government or in society, we are almost constrained to see the Etruscan aristocracy alone in the figured representations. Would they have allowed any but their own aristocracy within the charmed circle of art? This is confirmed by the Etruscan form of nearly all the funerary inscriptions. If then it is only the type of the dominant families that we must recognize in the figures on the sarcophagi and in the frescoes of the tombs, how comes it that they represent two such diametrically opposite types of humanity? On one side we see a type with the broad, smooth forehead, high cheek bones, long slanting eyes, prominent nose, thin cheeks and long chin, with lithe, tall,

[1] The principal Etruscan cities are supposed to have been Arretium, Caere, Clusium, Cortona, Perusia, Rusellae, Veii, Vetulonium, Volci, Volaterrae, Volsinii, Tarquinii.

slender bodies and lively, expressive, almost sardonic expression, so characteristically given in the couple from Caere of the age of the Tarquins in plate XIII, and in many frescoes. On the other hand we see the type of broad-faced, stolid, heavy-lipped and jowled people, with arrogantly placid and materially minded expression, with bull necks and thick-set bodies. Both types occur, but the second is more prevalent in the age of decadence and the former in places like Caere where Greek blood prevailed. Who will give us the key to the enigma?

At all events the concrete facts are now the important things: we can afford to wait for the historic explanation. Meanwhile we note that at Corneto (Tarquinii), Vetulonia and Bisentium, for example, there have been found in the very earliest tombs the same cabin urns which were found in Alba, as well as in Rome itself. The same Phoenician glazed Egyptianizing vases imported for the nobles of Caere are found in Rome. From Central Etruria to Praeneste and Norba there is an almost uninterrupted line of tombs of the iron age with objects of attire, of ornament and of household use which are practically identical. The tombs of the great men of the age of Romulus were filled with similar treasures of imported or native manu-

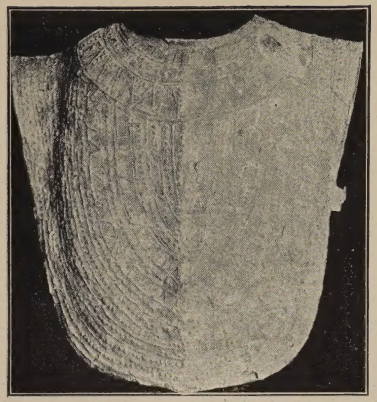
facture, whether it is the Bernardini tomb at Praeneste, the Tomba del Guerriero and the Isis tomb at Vulci, the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Caere or the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia.

Perhaps the closest analogies with the Roman province can be traced in the case of the antiquities of Caere and of the Faliscan region. The Etruscan museum in Rome, Papa Giulio, is mainly composed of the Faliscan antiquities from Falerii itself and from a neighboring city whose ancient name is uncertain. We call it Narce. In excavations which were afterwards carried on under my supervision for some American museums at Narce our excavator was so lucky as to find the tomb of a warrior of the utmost importance, comparable in some ways to the famous tombs of warriors and chiefs I have just mentioned and perhaps even earlier than any of them. It is the only one of its class yet discovered on these Faliscan sites.

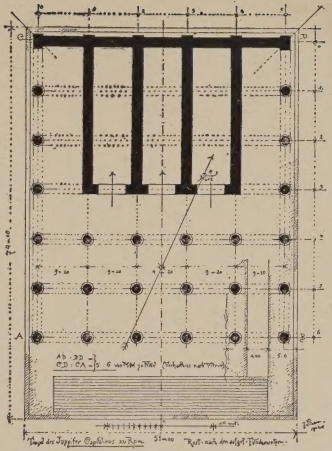
I reproduce some of its contents,—especially the bronze helmet and breastplate,—not only because I believe them to be the finest of their class but because they are probably just the type of armor worn by the Roman kings and their chief warriors in the first century after the foundation of the city. Such may have been the *spolia opima* of Acro, king of Caenina, which

Romulus is fabled to have offered to Jupiter Feretrius. The tomb can hardly be later than the beginning of the seventh century. The helmet has the highest and most richly decorated crest of any yet discovered. Of course both helmet and breastplate are votive offerings and are too light and delicate for use. Like so many of the most interesting pieces found in tombs they were made especially for burial purposes in imitation of the things actually used. On the other hand, the other and less spectacular pieces in this tomb were in actual use. We see on the right the water flask to be slung on by a strap; the two horse's bits for the chief's chariot (*biga*), the bronze disks with pointed centers and the small square plaques, with geometrical decoration, originally used, we imagine, on the harness of the war horses; and a large cup with figures of horses on its handles which helps to date the tomb. Then we see his favorite drinking cups, his fibulæ, strigils and a heavy ring of large size which may have been part of the attachments of the war chariot.

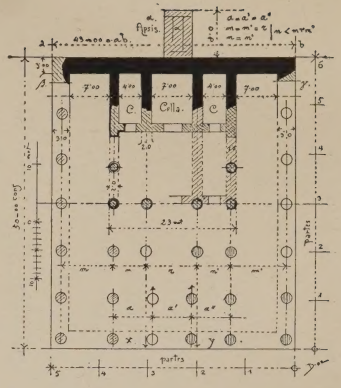
But I must leave almost untouched this illimitable field of arms and costume, manners and customs and the outward show of daily life, because, beyond suggesting how much Roman life and history can be illuminated from these sources,



Narce, Breastplate, from Tomb of a Warrior



Rome, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Durm)

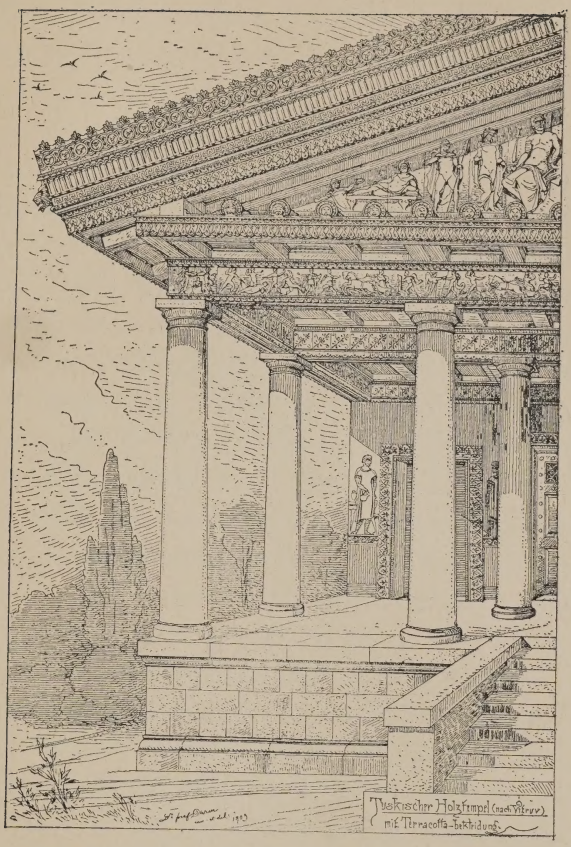


Falerii, Temple of Juno (Durm)

my limits are strictly those of architecture. In this field there is enough material and to spare. It is quite different in character from what we have found in the Hernican and Pontine cities. Etruria has practically no cities walled with polygonal masonry; the few examples in Southern Etruria,—Cosa, Populonia, Saturnia, Graviscae, —can be ascribed to non-Etruscan sources. Neither does she give us colossal examples of city and acropolis walls in her own special straight-coursed style, though she was the greatest city-building race in Italy. What we do find is mostly of the time when Roman influence was dominant, or at least threatening. This is because some sinister fate seems to have overtaken them. Veii was wiped out by Rome at an early date. So was Falerii, somewhat later. Populonia and Volaterrae were destroyed and sold out by Sulla. Perusia was burned by the young Augustus. Malaria in the region of the Maremma had already in the time of Augustus made a desert of Caere. At Arezzo the Roman city so substituted the Etruscan that not a certain trace of the older city remains. Even Tarquinii, which shares with Caere the honor, according to tradition, of having fundamentally influenced Rome in the age of the Tarquins and later, has left hardly a trace. Except at Perugia, Fiesole

and a few other sites there is hardly more than enough left to show the style of masonry.

Still, while we miss, in Etruria, the impressive massing of constructive remains, this is more than compensated by the artistic quality and suggestiveness of the single works and the details of architecture that we find everywhere,—in the gates of Volterra and Perugia, the tomb façades of Norchia and Castel d'Asso, the temple terra-cottas of Falerii, Luna and Telamon, the sarcophagi of Volterra and Perugia, the domical and vaulted tombs of Veii, Cortona, Vetulonia, Chiusi, Quinto Fiorentino and other sites; the chamber tombs of Tarquinii (Corneto), Vulci, Caere (Cervetri), Volsinii (Orvieto) and Perusia, All these are invaluable in a reconstruction of early Roman architectural and decorative work of all classes. Nor must it be forgotten that we start with the obvious fact that the models for the Servian wall and all its accessories were furnished not by Latium but by Etruria, which had already perfected the use of square-coursed masonry and of the arch and vault. The introduction of this course masonry into Rome was attributed by the Romans themselves to the Etruscans. Dionysius in his *Roman Antiquities* says that Tarquinius Priscus first used it. This is doubtless fairly correct even



Reconstruction of Façade of an Etruscan Temple, according to Vitruvius (Durm)

Plate XVI

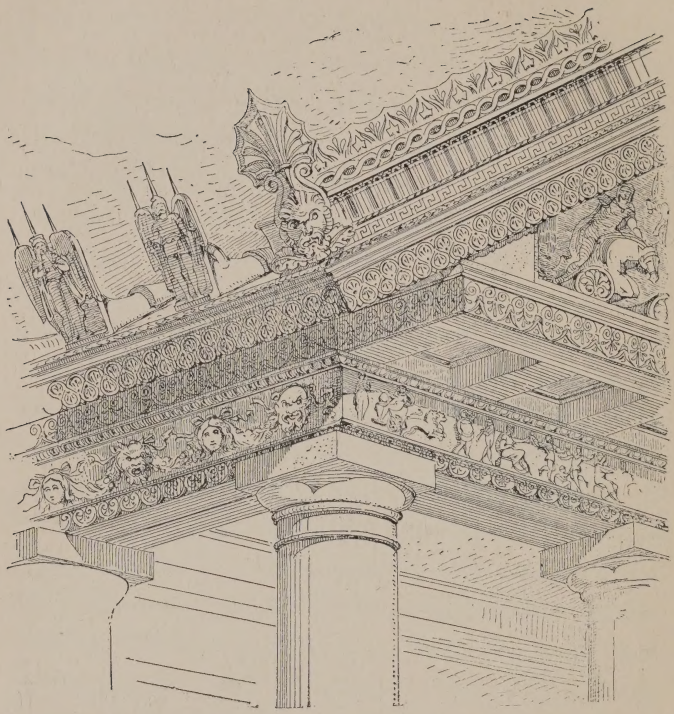
though the so-called "Servian walls" in Rome are not older than the fourth century.

The Temple

At the same time temples were substituted in Rome for altars and open-air shrines, also in imitation of Etruscan models, because the Tuscan porticoed form in place of the Greek peripteral scheme was followed. At Satricum, on the contrary, the Greek model prevailed, at about the same time. Still, it was impossible to get away from Greek influence. The terra-cotta decorations show that archaic Greek works served as models to the Etruscans not only in the gable and frieze sculptures but in the ornamental details. The recent excavations of the temple of Apollo at Thermon in Greece, where the columns and entablatures and gables were of wood faced and decorated with terra-cotta, have fully illustrated these Greek originals. Perhaps Capua, so strongly Hellenic, though conquered by the Etruscans and held by them until the fifth century (433 B.C.), and Caere, an essentially Greek city even after its annexation to Etruria, were the two greatest centers, one south, the other north, for this fusion of Greek and Etruscan art which reacted on Rome.

Pliny says that in his time "at Rome and in our

municipal towns, we still see many such (early terra-cotta figured) pediments of temples; wonderful, also, for their workmanship, their artistic merit and great age." Roman writers have even handed down the names of the Etruscan artists who made some of the more famous of the earliest of these works, such as Volcanius of Veii (or Turianus of Fregellae) called to Rome by Tarquinius Priscus to make the statue of Hercules "fictilis" mentioned as late as Martial and the cult statue of Jupiter for the projected Capitoline temple. Other Etruscan artists were called by Tarquinius Superbus to make the triumphal quadriga with the statue of Jupiter to crown the gable of the temple, and the figures inside the gable. Of remaining Etruscan works the fictile sarcophagus at the British Museum, the similar one also from Caere in the Louvre and their almost exact counterpart recently set up in the Etruscan museum in Rome, will come the nearest to giving an idea of the style of these Capitoline works, if we supply the original brilliant polychromy of which a few beautifully painted sarcophagi in the Corneto and Florence museums will give us the key. The Satrican temple terra-cottas were in some cases brilliantly colored when found. There are also for comparison those curious archaic gable sculptures



Reconstruction of Upper Corner of an Etruscan Temple with its Terracotta Revetment (Durm)

from the temples of the Athenian acropolis destroyed by the Persians. These are of stone, to be sure, but the surface was so covered with stucco and polychromy that the effect was not far different: with the earliest Delphi sculptures they give Greek prototypes for such Etrusco-Roman gables and friezes as were found at Velletri, etc.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus can hardly be said to represent the normal Etruscan type: rather an elaboration of it in the direction of the Hellenic peristyle temple. The only large temple whose ruins have been found in Etruria is the larger one at Falerii, which has been identified with the famous temple of Juno. It has the same plan as the Capitoline temple, and as it certainly does not date later than the third century B.C. it is a valuable aid in reconstituting the Roman temple. The scheme is of three cellas dedicated to the Capitoline Triad with a portico of three rows of six columns extending along the sides of the outer cellas with two other columns on each side.

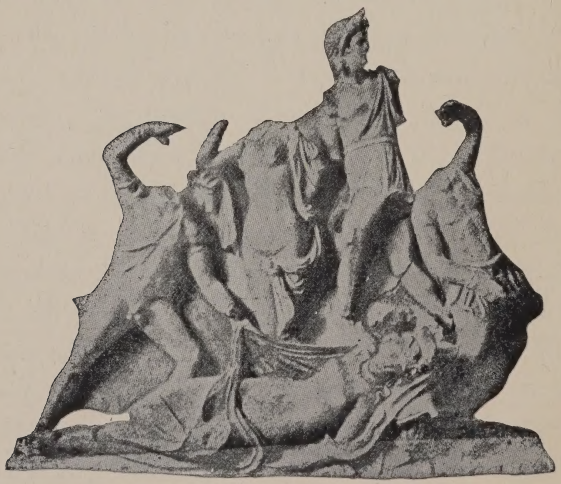
There is no reason to suppose, however, that while the Etruscans built their main temples on the triple-cella scheme, they did not use the single cella for other divinities. Also, in the case even of triple cellas of smaller dimensions, it is probable that the norm was that described by Vitru-

vius of four columns in the portico instead of six. This is the scheme of the best-preserved façade at Norchia, which gives so graphically the wide spaced Doric columns of the terra-cotta gable groups of sculpture.

The proportions are those which we must assign to the majority of the temples in Rome built before the Punic wars. The gables, the architraves, the cornices, the columns were usually of wood, with a revetment of terra-cotta, fastened to the wood by nails. Revetments with nail holes have been found in quantities. Those at Falerii and Alatri were sufficient to reconstitute most of the details of the temple; the originals can be studied at the Papa Giulio. Of course, having so light a weight to support, the columns were widely spaced, too much so for beauty and symmetry. In fact the Etruscan temple can hardly be praised either from a structural or an esthetic point of view. The first improvement probably came up into Latium from the south in the form of stone columns coated with fine stucco, in temples built probably by Greek architects. Elements for this second Greek wave can be found in Southern Latium but not in Etruria.

In one thing I hardly think that the debt of Rome to Etruria has been understood, I mean

Fragment of the Apollo, from the Terracotta Gable Sculptures of the Hellenistic Temple at Luni



Sassoferrato (near), Central Group of Ariadne at Naxos, from the Terracotta Gable of a Hellenistic Temple

in the matter of decorative detail in architecture. Take, for instance, merely the question of capitals. The popular fallacy, — long since abandoned by scholars, — that the Tuscan Doric was the sole Etruscan order is contradicted by the most cursory glance at the monuments. The hybrid forms of Ionic, of composite and of figured capitals, such as we find in rather rococo Roman works of the age of Caracalla, have here their Etruscan prototypes.

There is a rich variety of material for reconstituting the terra-cotta friezes and gable sculptures of the temples; but aside from the earliest examples from Satricum and Capua they date between the fourth and the second centuries B.C. Recently discovered are those found at Città d'Alba, near Sassoferrato, the ancient Sentinum which I will illustrate here, though it is an Umbrian city. They are in a Hellenistic style which seems to have prevailed throughout nearly all Italy, based probably on models from Alexandria or Asia Minor. With less action but greater purity and reticence are the gable sculptures from that northernmost of Etruscan cities on the Mediterranean coast, Luna, now at the Florence museum. The Hellenic exquisiteness of its type is even surpassed by some of the corresponding fragments from Falerii, especially a head of

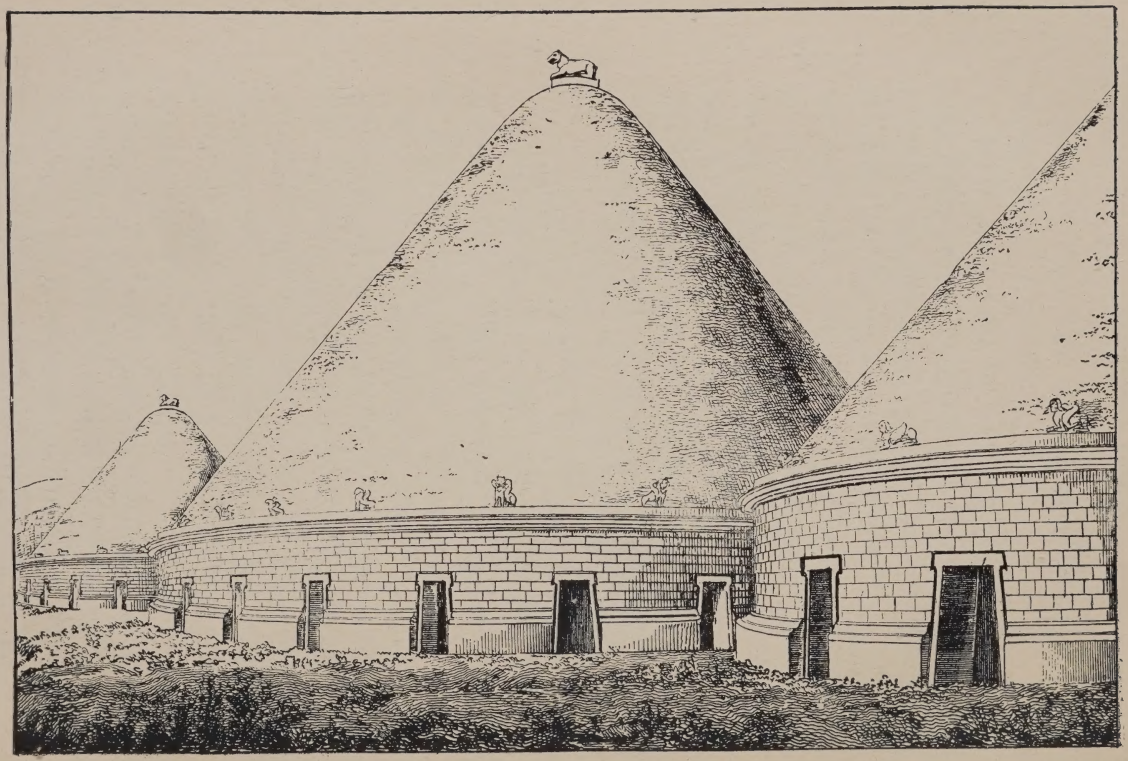
Apollo, at the Papa Giulio, which I regret not being able to reproduce.

After gathering in the museums of Rome and Florence these illuminating data, and after studying the full-sized model of the small temple of Alatri set up in the court of the Papa Giulio museum, those who are curious to follow up the study should take a trip to the rock-cut tombs of Castel-d'Asso, near Viterbo, or those of Norchia and Bieda, near Vetralla. The tomb façades are here often hewn in the form of temple façades, filled in some cases with gable sculptures.

The House

From the tomb we also get our best idea of the Roman house. The Roman house as we know it is of the type inaugurated not long before Cicero's time. For its long and varied previous development we must look to Etruscan remains, not so much in the form of actual houses as in reproductions of them in tombs and on urns. When Pliny tells us that before the war with Pyrrhus there were only thatched and shingled houses in Rome, we infer that the houses (*domus*) were of wood and the blocks or *insulae* of brick. There is no doubt that when Rome was first built the houses were nothing but circular or oval huts made of hides and poles or wattled and

Plate XIX



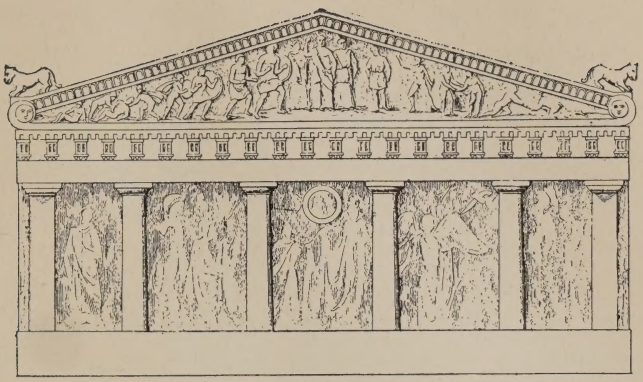
Caere, Early Tomb-mounds, restored by Canina

thatched. Their simple structure was either supported on a central pole or by a horizontal ridge-pole resting on forked or curved sticks joined to the sides. These various types are reproduced either in tombs or in the earliest form of urn, the cabin urn. In the center of this single room was the hearth. There was undoubtedly a religious and astronomical significance to this form, which was the reproduction on earth of the *templum* of the heavens in its earliest circular form. Owing to Roman conservatism it remained the favorite form of monumental tomb until the fall of Rome. We know that the house was consecrated, together with a narrow strip of ground about it, in exactly the same way as was the site of a temple, of a city and of its territory. It is a curious fact that at a certain time the shape both of this celestial and terrestrial *templum* passed from the circular to the square. The earlier form was perpetuated in the temple of Vesta; the later in the "Roma quadrata" and the military camp. The change from circular to quadrangular form in the house probably coincided with this ritualistic change, and this change has been identified with the Etruscans. We are apt to call the circular hut-house Italic, the rectangular house Etruscan. But while the rectangular form undoubtedly came into use as early as the seventh

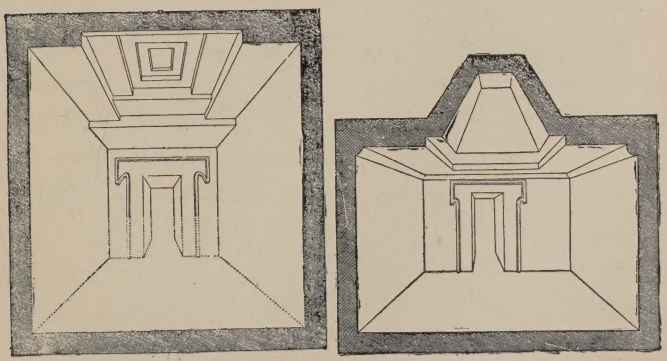
century B.C., the older form died hard. In the same way as the Romans of the Empire still used in certain antique ceremonials (e.g. Arval Brothers) the same type of primitive earthen vessels employed in the eighth century, so their stanch adherence to tradition led the peoples of Etruria and other provinces to maintain the circular form for the tomb long after it had gone out in practical life. The houses recently found at Satricum showed for the first time that the passage to the rectangular hut with tiled instead of thatched roof began as early as the seventh century.

The most impressive of Etruscan tomb interiors, in fact, are those of this type, such as the Regulini Galassi tomb at Caere with its pseudo-pointed arch corridor and the domical or tholos tomb illustrated at Vetulonia, in the Tomba del Duce, at Volterra. These are translations into stone of the wooden huts. Near Rome they can be seen along the Via Appia.

If the tombs show us the interiors, the cabin urns exhibit the exteriors of these huts, with the one door, the side windows and the upper window for letting out the smoke. Traces of the actual huts of this type have been found in the streets of Etruscan Bologna (Felsina), showing that in this backward city this form of house was still



Façade of Etruscan Temple, reproduced by Tomb at Norchia, cut in the rock (Martha)



Types of Main Hall in Etruscan Houses of middle period, from tombs at Vulci (Gsell)

Plate xx

used in the fifth century B.C. That it was the common primitive form of Roman house is shown by the so-called shrine hut of Romulus or of Faustulus so often renewed up to imperial times.

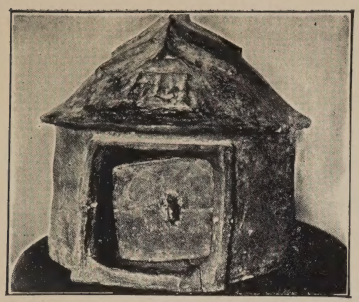
We must believe that under the Tarquins the later type of quadrangular house had been introduced into Rome by the Etruscans. This house was at first of only one room, like the circular hut, though surrounded by a covered loggia, but the aristocracy soon developed a residence with several rooms grouped around a central court or atrium; this began as early as the sixth century, if not before. In most cases we must think of them as of wood, roofed with shingles or tiles or with flat terraces, though there was probably in the richer houses not only a profuse painted decoration but the use of terra-cotta revetment as in the temples. These developed into houses of crude bricks roofed with tiles.

The prevalent early type was an oblong structure with a plain gabled roof ending in a decorated façade at both ends. How decorative this could be made is shown in a model of such a house in the Florence museum. The effect is quite charming. Pilasters at the corners support the gable and roof entablature; the arched doorway is flanked by half-columns. Roof and gable project so as to protect a charming colonnaded

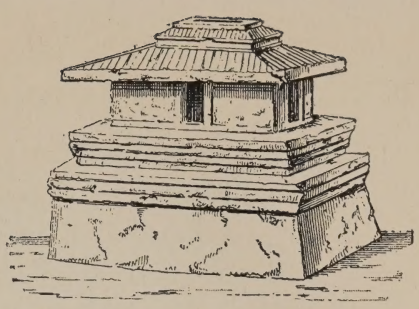
loggia, and nearly the entire long side is occupied by a recessed and trellised window[1] in front of which is a parapet, while the recess is framed by two pilasters or pillars *in antis*. The wooden structure is quite evident in this model. There is a passage in Polybius which can be used in support of the idea that the Etruscans even used free-standing columns in connection with their houses. It is very easy to develop this type of house into the one represented by the gabled façades of Norchia and Castel d'Asso, where the free-standing columns support the overhanging gable. One merely hesitates, perhaps mistakenly, to make the private house approximate so closely to the type of the temple. Sometimes stone instead of wood was the material, as we see by the façade of one of the urns of the Volumni, from Perugia.

The many-roomed houses of the rich did not differ at first very much from this single-roomed house in their exterior form, except in the arrangement of the roof. In the center a covered opening was made to light the central hall or atrium and around it was an open or a covered loggia or both. This was the type of *atrium displuviatum,* which is shown on some urns at

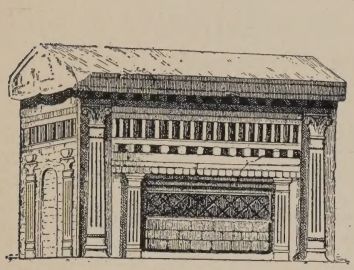
[1] Or are these not either panes of some transparent material such as alabaster or slabs cut in patterns to admit light?

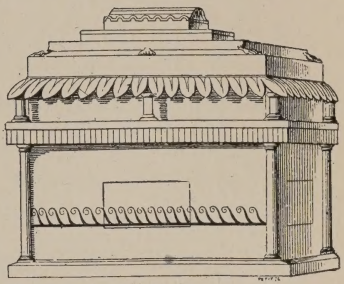


House of the eighth century B. C.
(circular or oval)

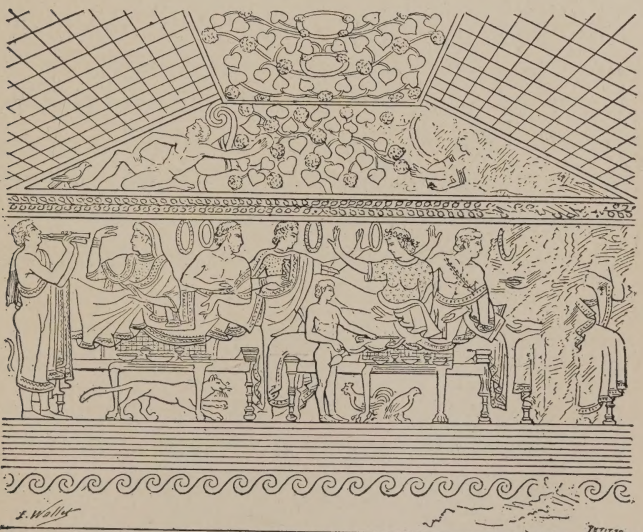


House of the sixth century B. C.





Houses of the fourth and third centuries B. C.
(All from Etruscan Cinerary Urns)



Decoration of Principal Room in Etruscan House of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. (Tomba del Triclinio, Corneto)
Plate XXI

Florence. In both we can see how easily columns could be used on the outside. The internal arrangement of the atrium is reproduced in a number of tombs. I shall give a section of a Vulci tomb of the fourth century B.C. showing how the builders arranged their heavy planks so as to finally bring the opening at the top of a pyramid-shaped ceiling. Another way is shown in a tomb of Tarquini. This atrium was reached through a passageway, a vestibule-ostium, and on the other three sides there opened out of it the other rooms of the house. There was usually one on each side, and sometimes two. The Vulci tomb shows how the ceiling of these rooms was often built, with a central rafter and cross beams set in low gable slant. The plan in the case of an earlier Vulci tomb shows some elaborate schemes of woodwork, especially the fan-shaped arrangement in the room on the left. But in this plan, while it shows how the rooms were built and how they were connected, they are, of course, not grouped as to their outer peripheries in the way they would have been in a house where the outer walls must be reckoned with. One of these rooms is given in plate XXII. The decoration of the interiors was probably quite rich, if we can judge from that of the tombs. In plate XXI, 5 from the Tomba del Triclinio at Tarquinii we

have a banqueting scene in progress, and it is allowable to infer that the ceiling and walls of the dining halls were ornamented with wall paintings of this character and design in the period from the fifth to the second centuries B.C.

The same frescoes, helped out by the remains of the objects themselves, give us the furniture and furnishings of these houses at different times in the way of couches and beds, tables and stands, chairs and stools, candelabra, vases, dishes and platters, drinking cups and ewers. There is hardly a thing left to conjecture. One may even go so far as to say that the tally is almost as complete in those things of daily use as it is at Pompeii. It is even more complete in the way of costume and personal adornment, the Etruscan Graeco-Campanian jewelry being wonderfully exquisite and varied. For every century we can say what was worn and used by the wealthy Etruscans and consequently by the wealthy Romans.

I must not trespass further on this field, but must return to the development of the house architecture. We had reached the stage of the covered atrium, or *atrium* (*cavaedium*) *displuviatum* and *testudinatum,* the kind of house that was commonly used, e. g. in the rebuilding of Rome after the capture by the Gauls and throughout

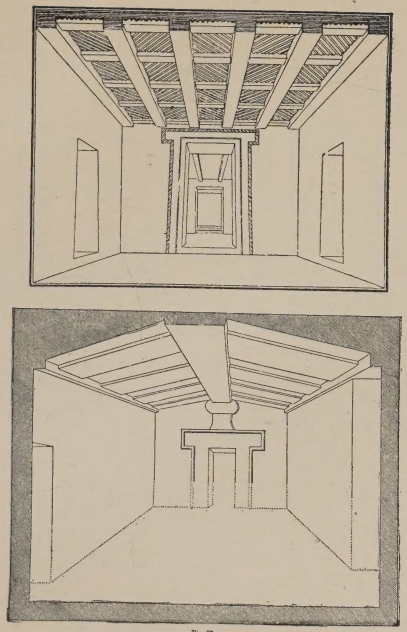
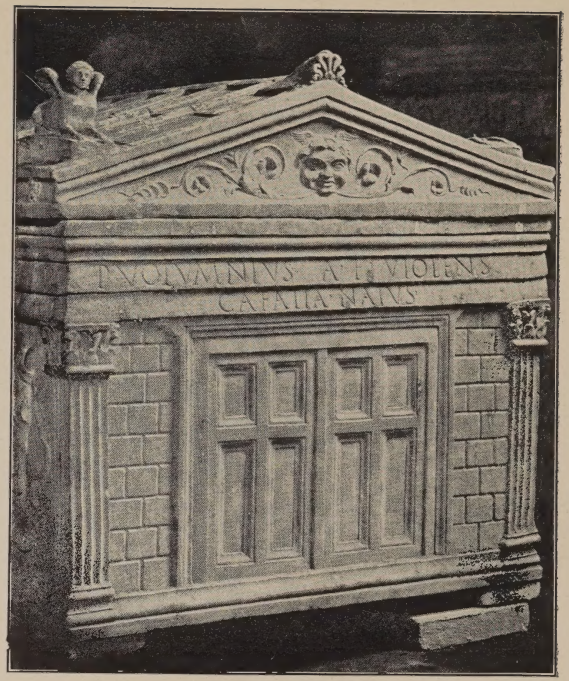


Fig. 80.

Main Rooms in Etruscan Houses, from Tombs at Vulci (Durm and Gsell)



Etruscan Sarcophagus of Volumni showing façade and roof of stone house

the fourth century B.C. In this type the central opening for the admission of light was too small to be satisfactory and the next step was to modify the arrangement so that it could be very much enlarged and thrown entirely open, the roof slant being reversed so as to carry the water in instead of away and to catch it in an *impluvium* or basin in the center of this inner court. This open atrium was called *Tuscanicum,* by the Romans, who adopted it from the Etruscans. A section of such an atrium is shown in plate XXIII. I also agree with those who believe that the Etruscans went a step farther in the development of the atrium and used rows of columns to enlarge it on the ground floor, in the form of a small cloister, which went by the name of *atrium tetrastylum* if there were only four columns, one at each corner, or *atrium corinthium* if there were more. There probably elapsed some time before the simple tetrastyle type was developed into its richer form and this brings us up to the age which is represented by Pompeian architecture.[1]

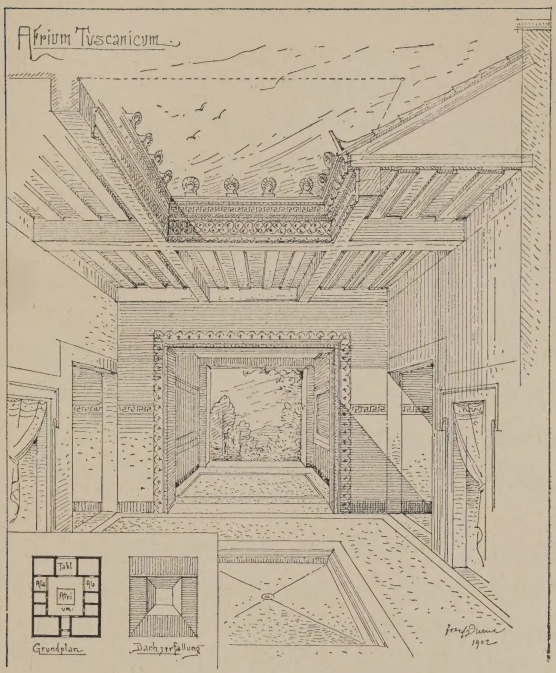
[1] Of course, while these phases of domestic Etruscan architecture will allow us to reconstruct the private house in Rome from the Tarquins to the Gracchi, they are of no help whatever in giving us an idea of the higher houses in Rome; especially of the blocks, or *insulae,* the tenement houses of the day, of both good and bad quality. There is no doubt that when land became expensive in Rome houses were made much higher than in

The conclusion is evident, then, that to learn about early Roman houses we must make a tour of Etruscan sites in Central Etruria.

On the other hand the connection is not so close as is supposed in works of engineering. The Cloaca of the Marta at Graviscae, for instance, has been cited for comparison with the Cloaca Maxima as an Etruscan prototype, ever since its discovery by Dennis over half a century ago. I regret to disturb so complacent an inmate of all handbooks, but there is no doubt in my mind that this arched passage is a work of the Roman Empire. I have yet to see a single arcade surely constructed before Augustus with voussoirs interpenetrating the body of the masonry such as are here used. The general rule for Etruria, for Rome and for Latium in the pre-Augustan age was that the masonry should be cut so as to fit on to the perfect curve of the voussoirs, of which there was often a double and even a triple line.

There is, however, one bridge at least, at Bieda (Blera), which can be set beside the one

Etruscan cities; and that these houses of three to six stories high must have followed quite a different type. In this Etruria does not help us. We must go to the South and across sea. Phoenician cities such as Motya in Sicily, where excavations are even now being carried on, showed the Romans how to build such lofty houses. That they were generally built poorly and for speculative purposes, seems generally conceded.



Late Etruscan House, with Atrium Tuscanicum (Durm)

Plate XXIII

at Cora as of pre-Roman workmanship, or at least, previous to the third century B.C. It is of large blocks of tufa without any of the mixture of materials, without the apertures in piers and the breakwater buttresses which characterize Roman work even of the late Republic. Much as I am tempted to do so, however, I will not attribute to the Etruscans the superb bridge near Vulci called Ponte della Badia. It is at all events not later than Augustus and may be earlier. Its main arch has a span of sixty-two feet and rises nearly one hundred feet above the Fiora, and its length is almost two hundred and fifty feet. It is surpassed only by the bridge at Narni.

If I were to reduce this question of the monumental relations of Rome to Etruria to its simplest expression it would be to advise a visit to Corneto-Tarquinii and to Cervetri-Caere as the sites most accessible and also best adapted in their painted tombs, mounds and museums to furnishing a continuous picture of the best Etruscan art. Perugia and Volterra are also important, but what can be seen at these sites is mostly of a late period and so is rather one-sided. The street of tombs at Volsinii (Orvieto) is the best remaining instance of the way the Etruscans constructed a city of the dead with regular

streets of houses with encircling ditch and ramparts, after the fashion of the city of the living, of which an earlier example of circular form exists at the Poggio Gaiella of Chiusi.

But there are also two cities of Etruria which not only are better preserved architecturally but which should interest us as vividly individualizing two phases of the relations of Rome to Etruria. They are Perugia and Falleri. Perugia (Perusia) is the type of Etruscan city which, after Roman superiority had been clearly proved, accepted conditions and became an allied city, *civitas foederata,* remaining so until it received citizenship with the rest of Etruria in 90 B.C. Falleri (Novi Falerii) exemplifies those cities, few in number, whose inhabitants, after a revolt or continuous contumacy, were obliged to see their too-strong mother city destroyed and were condemned to build a new home.

Perugia

The most tragic moment recorded in the history of ancient Perusia is that of its surrender to the young Octavian early in March of 41 B.C., after the city had fought obstinately in the cause of Lucius Antony in that earliest of the struggles between the two claimants to Caesar's succession that is called the "Perusian War." It is said that

after capturing and burning Perusia, Octavian offered up a human sacrifice of the senators and knights and the principal inhabitants to Caesar's manes on the anniversary of his death. If so, we must believe that Octavian was still too young to have shaken off the yoke of the cruelties traditional since the wars of Marius and Sulla. As Sulla did to Praeneste after destroying it, so Augustus is supposed to have done to Perusia, making of it the last example of a tragic chain of vengeance by which nearly all the flourishing antique cities of Italy received their death blow, leaving Rome almost solitary for a while.

He afterwards rebuilt and perhaps colonized it. The inscription *Augusta Perusia* cut in the voussoirs of the present main city gate is supposed, with the gate itself, to be a record of this Augustan reconstruction. Even then it is considered to have remained a *municipium* and not to have become a colony until after the middle of the third century. A native of the city, the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, during his short reign then gave it the title of *Colonia Vibia* after his family name, and had the fact recorded in an inscription on the other principal ancient city gate, the so-called Porta Marzia, where we read *Augusta Perusia Colonia Vibia.*

Until my last visit to Perugia I had accepted the usual view that attributes to Augustus most of the existing gateway and to a restoration under Gallus the decorative features of the remnants of Porta Marzia. But now I believe I have gathered conclusive evidence in support of the opinion that these magnificent gateways are not Roman at all but are remnants of the pre-Roman Etruscan city. Both the architecture and sculpture of Etruria in the fourth century must be enriched by these two masterpieces.

Perusia was already, in the fifth and sixth centuries, one of the league of twelve principal Etruscan cities. It was not among the earliest; perhaps it was the latest accession, facing as it does the Umbrian cities across the Tiber, and holding part of the land recently wrested from the Umbrians. Though archaic works of art point to it as a highly civilized center in the sixth century, the contents of the necropolis and the city itself show that its period of greatest material and artistic prosperity extended from the fourth to the second century B.C. It seems not to have been affected by the incoming tide of Roman supremacy which left it free to pursue its normal course.

The colossal circuit of walls, in beautifully laid course-masonry, and showing splendidly in the

Perugia, Arco d'Augusto, with Etruscan towers and wall

neighborhood of both the Porta d'Augusto and the Porta Marzia, may be of the fifth century; but from the style of the gates, I should hardly place them earlier than the fourth. My examination of what remains of the Etruscan gates now called Porta Eburnea and Porta San Severo, almost entirely rebuilt in the Middle Ages, showed that they followed exactly the same structural methods as the better preserved Porta Augusta and Porta Marzia, so they need be merely mentioned here as part of the general scheme, and I shall concentrate on the two latter gates.

These gates make us feel that in the fourth century B.C. Perusia, like other great cities of Etruria and Umbria, was monumentally and artistically more advanced than Rome. We must not imagine for a moment that such gates could have existed in Rome at any time before Caesar. The perfectly plain Janus gateway of the city of Aquinum and the equally plain earlier gateways at Ferentino, Falerii and Ascoli which I describe elsewhere, give the type of the gates of Rome and of the Volscian and Latin cities, devoid of architectural memberment or decorative sculpture. There do not remain even in any of the other Etruscan cities, gates comparable to these at Perugia. Those at Volterra and Cosa

are almost as simple as the gateways farther south.

These Perugian gates, therefore, seem unique and well worth studying in detail. I shall begin with the one in the best condition, although it was not originally the most artistic—the Porta or Arco d'Augusto. It is a massive structure between sixty and seventy feet in height flanked by two enormous projecting square towers and set in an angle of the city walls. The single archway was originally about twenty feet to the center of its tunnel vaulting which ran, as was so often the case, not straight but diagonally to the façade of the gate. There are two stories above the archway. The first is narrow and corresponds to the frieze on triumphal or colony arches; it is in the form of a false gallery in which pilasters take the place of the Doric triglyphs and shields are set in the intervals that correspond to the metopes. Above, is a second and wider story, the center of which is occupied by a single broad arcade now closed but originally open, by means of which the garrison could defend the gate—a feature that was perpetuated in the Roman imperial gates from Aosta to Trier, with the substitution of numerous arcades for the single one.

It has been quite generally conceded that the

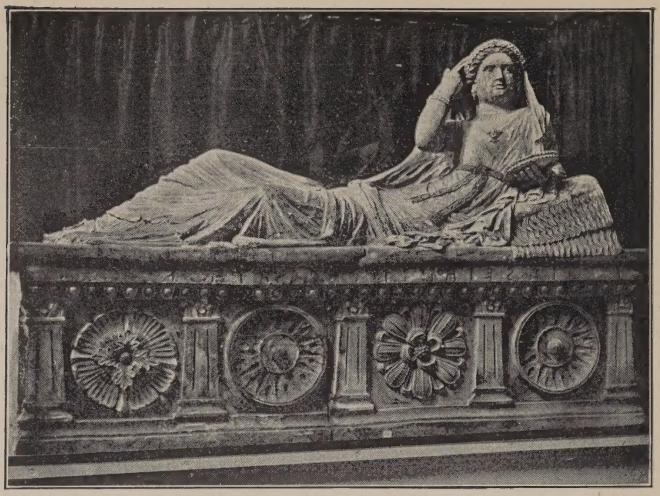
lower part of the gate up to the spring of the arcade was Etruscan and had survived the fire of Octavian. I placed this beyond a doubt by finding at the base of the masonry in the passage-way a number of mason's marks mainly in the form of Etruscan letters of the alphabet. The gate is now uncovered to a depth of 1.75 meters below the antique level, so bringing to light these Etruscan quarry signs which had been removed from all the stonework that originally showed above the ground when it was finished off after construction. It is very seldom that one finds these mason's marks, as they were always removed when above ground.

But is there any reason to assign the upper part of the gate to a later period? I believe not. Any supposed divergences between the masonry of the upper and lower portions are due either to the easy habit of studying monuments from photographs or to the lack of recognition of the fact that the difference in the surface condition and coloring of the lower part is due to buildings which for centuries were addossed to the walls and towers up to a certain height, so that the weathering of the upper and lower portions necessarily differed.

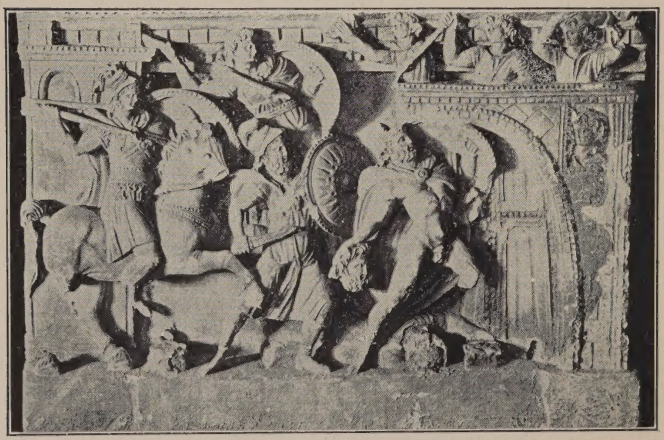
As for the architectural features I can give here only a brief analysis of the results of a

study of Etruscan monuments, especially the urns and sarcophagi, as well as the city gates and other architectural works. The use of plain voussoirs such as these to form the arcade, surrounded by curved moldings carved on separate strips of stone, is Etruscan and not Roman. The two heads of protecting genii that project from the spandrels of the arch appear on representations of Etruscan gates on the urns and sarcophagi and are paralleled in the Etruscan gate of Volterra; they also are not Roman. The false gallery or frieze of psuedo-Ionic pilasters with shields or rosettes occupying the intervals is one of the commonest forms of decoration on Etruscan urns and sarcophagi. The upper gallery filled with defenders of the gate can be seen on more than one carved representation of a city gate on Etruscan urns.

This covers every feature of the gate. Not one appears on a Roman gate except as a derivative from Etruscan sources; every one occurs on Etruscan works of the fourth to second centuries B.C. Of course Etruscan gates had no inscriptions and provided no place for any, and no better proof of the pre-Roman construction could be asked than the fact that when Augustus set his seal on the reconstructed city and wished to christen it anew after himself as *Augusta*



Etruscan Sarcophagus of Larthia Seianti (Florence) with details similar to Arco d'Augusto and Porta Marzia



Etruscan Sarcophagus (Volterra) showing City Gate with heads in spandrels and gallery

Plate xxv

Perusia, his epigraphists were forced to cut the letters recording this fact most awkwardly and ineffectively on the voussoir blocks. In Roman gates and arches of the Augustan age and later a place for a horizontal inscription was provided.

The Arco d'Augusto just described corresponded to the Porta Decumana of a Roman colony,—at one end of the main street. At the other end, corresponding to the even more important Porta Praetoria, was the gate that has always been popularly called "Porta Marzia." When in 1540 the younger Sangallo was called upon by the pope to build him, at this point, an immense fortress to overawe the Perugians, he was obliged to tear down the Porta Marzia; but as he came of a family of architects that for three generations had loved and copied antique monuments, he did what was perhaps unique at this time,—took it down and reconstructed all its essential and artistic parts, stone by stone, in the new fortress wall only a few yards in front of its old position. How accurately it was done can be seen by an historical fresco of the Umbrian painter, Bonfigli, which shows the gate before it was torn down, standing in its section of the original Etruscan wall. I also found at the Uffizi the drawings made by Sangallo at the time, before he tore down the gate, and an almost

contemporary sketch of the Arco d'Augusto. So I speak with this material in mind.

The Porta Marzia was more highly decorated than many a Roman triumphal and memorial arch, though as in the other gate none of the decoration was below the spring of the arcade. This was perfectly logical because in those strenuous days when such a gate was really for defense anything decorative would have been out of place below, subject as it would be to continual defacement at times of attack. But, beginning at the base of the arcade, the gate was framed by two pilasters whose capitals supported the architrave of a false gallery. Inside the spandrels the heads of the two protecting genii project from the masonry, in the same way as on the Arco d'Augusto, while over the keystone a weathered block was inserted by cutting into the gallery above, and on it was originally carved an ox head, long since worn away. Now, the ox head is recognized to be the sign manual of Rome, carved on gates or stamped on local coinage, wherever Rome took possession. Therefore, if it is here a patent addition to the original structure, made by a most inartistic disfigurement, the gate itself must antedate Roman dominion.

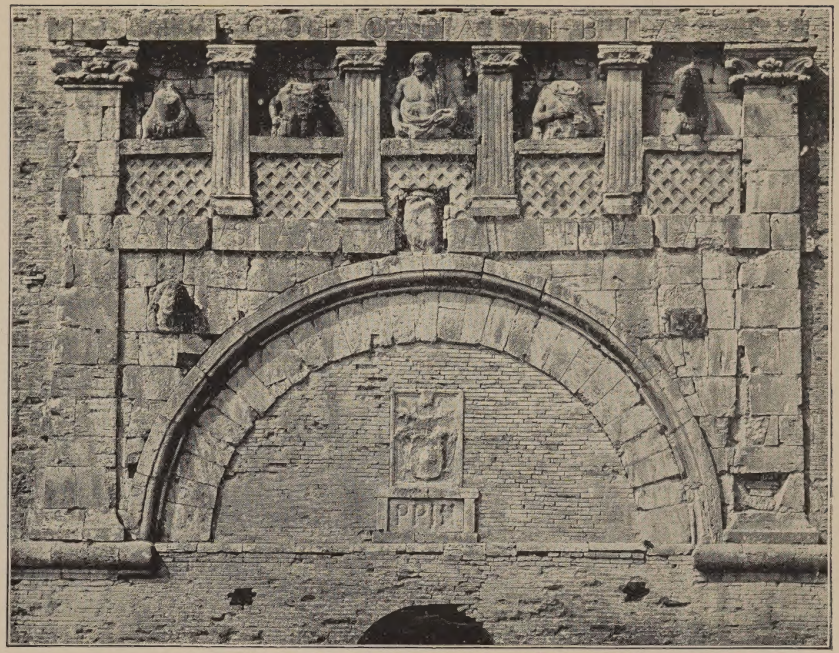
The gallery thus disfigured by Augustus is a most original—in fact a unique—feature. It is

made to produce the effect of a sort of *ringhiera* or balcony with a balustrade running about half way up, between the four small and two large pilaster piers that support the balcony's architrave. Over the balustrade there peers a single figure in the center of each of the five spaces between the pilasters. The artist carved them so that they are half hidden by the balustrade as if they stood behind it on the floor of the balcony. These five figures are evidently the guardians of the city. What are they? Helped by the early drawings we see that the central figure has the type of Jupiter. Then on either side of him stood one of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, while at each end were their horses. These sculptures should now be classed as among the few large sized Etruscan marble sculptures of the fourth or third centuries B.C., and to judge from the fairly well preserved Jupiter, the workmanship was in its way as good as the charming terra-cotta figures of the temple gables of Luna, Falerii and Telamon. From Etruscan mirrors and urns it is evident that the Dioscuri were the escorts of their father Jupiter, his messengers and active agents. Even from as far as Thessalonica, where the Dioscuri occupy the jambs of the early city gate, comes proof that they were regarded by Greeks as well as by Etruscans as

the guardians of the city. Their statues stood at each end of the stairway of the Capitoline temple and of other temples in Rome itself. We shall find them as the main decoration of the forum of Assisi.

As far as the architectural features of the Porta Marzia are concerned they are as clearly Etruscan as those of the Arco d'Augusto. The peculiar pseudo-Corinthian capitals of the pilasters have their analogies in numerous Etruscan monuments; for example, in Perugia itself on the urns of the Volumni and other tombs of the necropolis. Nothing could be farther from the normal Roman type. The upper open gallery which must have crowned the arch has left no trace, and had entirely disappeared even in the sixteenth century.

How the gate was related to the medieval city is shown most fascinatingly if we do a thing that every visitor to Perugia should experience: penetrate through the entrance now cut in the fortress wall below the Porta Marzia stonework into the bowels of San Gallo's fortress. He incorporated a quarter of the medieval city within the foundations of the fortress, leaving its streets, houses, alleys and towers, just as they were, to be subterranean storerooms for the soldiery! It is a ghost-like progress that one makes, by torch-



Perugia, Porta Marzia: Etruscan City Gate rebuilt during the Renaissance

light, in the dead silence, along the street that once wound up into the city from the Porta Marzia, following probably the line of the ancient street, and coming out on the crest of the hill to cross the rest of the city, past the cathedral square and ancient forum, in an almost straight line to the Porta d'Augusto.

An interesting analogy may have existed between these gates of Perugia and those of Siena. At Siena there lasted through the Middle Ages several of the gates of the ancient city which were still decorated with carved figures of its guardian deities and heroes, probably as at the Porta Marzia. A medieval chronicler tells us how the Sienese, not daring to destroy these images, but regarding them as evil demons, would every year on a certain anniversary walk in procession through the city, headed by the bishop and clergy, singing hymns and swinging incense-burners, and that they would visit these ancient gates, pausing to recite formulas for exorcising their demons and averting their spells during the coming year. So the decorative statuary of the Porta Marzia seems to have been matched in other Etruscan cities, though no others remain.

As at the Arco d'Augusto the hand of the Roman is traceable only in the words "Augusta Perusia" in the voussoirs of the arcade, so at the

Porta Marzia all I can find that is Roman is the vanished ox head over the keystone and the two inscriptions that are here carved not on the voussoirs but, with almost equal incongruity, on the two narrow architrave bands above and below the balcony. On the upper band is *Augusta Perusia,* cut, I believe, at the time of Augustus' reconstruction; on the lower band is *Colonia Vibia,* added under Trebonianus Gallus, nearly three centuries later. It has always been supposed that all this lettering was done at the same time, in the third century, but the cutting of "Augusta Perusia" is deeper and firmer, showing its earlier date, while the shallowness of the "Colonia Vibia" shows quite a different and later hand.

There are other architectural features at Perugia. The sarcophagi in the museums give a quantity of details. The "tempio di S. Manno," two miles outside the city on the road to Florence, is the only Perugian structure which belongs to the type of vaulted constructions. It is a barrel vault of beautiful travertine blocks, twenty-seven feet long and about thirteen feet (4.10 meters) in diameter; one of the largest in existence of this age. A long Etruscan inscription in three lines makes its antiquity certain.

The tombs that have been found, of which the

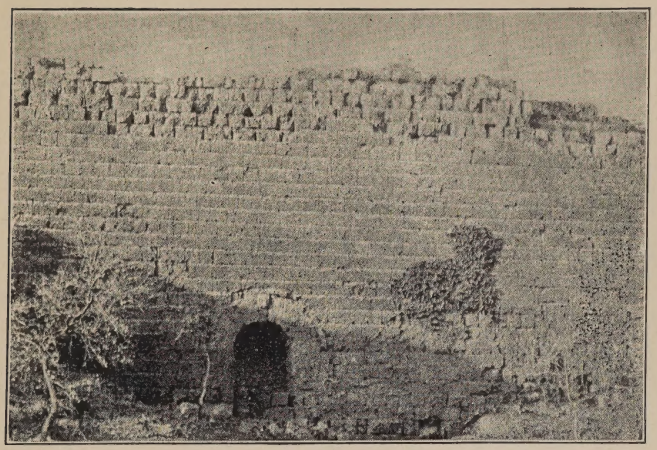
richest is the famous tomb of the Volumni, all belong to the later period; those of the fourth and previous centuries appear not yet to have been discovered. But one of the most interesting features of this tomb of the Volumni is the way in which it illustrates the type of developed Roman house as I have pictured it. The description of it, its contents and its discovery is one of the most vivid parts of Dennis' ever fascinating book, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria.*

Falerii

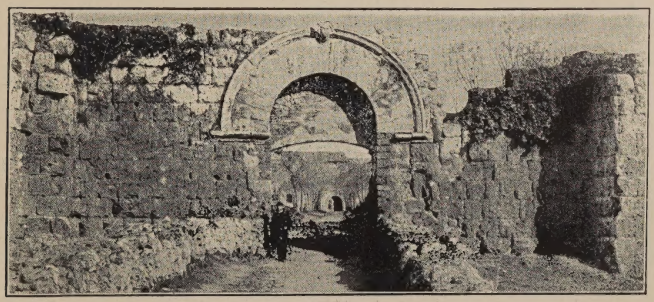
The capital city of the Faliscans was at Falerii, the present Civita Castellana, the nearest town of any size north of Rome, where not enough remains to warrant a visit, unless it is to see the masterpiece of Roman medieval artists, the neo-classic porch of its cathedral. About four miles away, to the west, Falerii lives again, however, in a humbled force-given offspring, a well preserved and strongly walled city of the days of the Republic. One stumbles across it with something of a shock, accustomed as one is to look to the heights for all such cities. Its builders took advantage, it is true, of a deep ravine, one of the strange *burroni* of this volcanic region, gashed in the surface and invisible until one nearly falls into them.

It is not a large city, not quite a mile and a half in circuit, yet it makes a vivid impression, notwithstanding its prosaic position, because it is the best preserved example of military architecture of its period. The walls are almost unbroken. At one point, where they descend to the ravine at the Porta di Bove, they remain to a height of nearly sixty feet, and the gate, being pierced in the base of this mass of masonry, seems insignificant. Yet the ox head that occupies the keystone of the gate, symbol of the Roman domination, is a significant confirmation of the date and character of the city.

It is new Falerii, *Novi Falerii,* built in 240 B.C. as a punishment for the rebellion of old Falerii, whose impregnable position made her a dangerous enemy. The original city was an early foundation by a race of non-Etruscan origin, connected with the Sabines, though tradition calls them "Pelasgic" and connects their worship of Juno with Argos. Falerii was among the largest cities in Southern Etruria, and though she never was thoroughly Etruscanized, helped her Etruscan neighbor Veii in her wars with Rome, against whom she fought for two centuries. One of the best known episodes of these wars is that of the treacherous schoolmaster who had charge of the sons of the nobles of



Falleri, Porta di Bove and Walls of the Roman Colony of Falerii



Falleri, Porta di Giove, Principal Gate of Falerii

Falerii at the time of the siege by Camillus and enticed them into the lines of the Roman besiegers. The generosity of Camillus in sending the boys back and delivering the schoolmaster. bound, for them to whip back to the city, is said to have so touched the Faliscans that they voluntarily accepted the overlordship of Rome. This was in 394 B.C. For a century and a half after this there seem to have been in the city both pro-Roman and anti-Roman factions which alternately guided its policy. It was soon after this that Rome took the first aggressive step toward holding Etruscan territory, after annexing that of Veii, by establishing two strong military colonies, one at Sutrium (Sutri) in 383 and a second at Nepet (Nepi) in 373, both on the southern border of the territory of Falerii. They played quite a part in subsequent wars. At present their sites are hardly worth visiting.

It was in 240 B.C. at the time of the wars with Pyrrhus that an ill-advised revolt of the Faliscans gave Rome an opportunity to crush the city, annex half her territory, tear down her walls, destroy her buildings except the temples, and remove her inhabitants to a new site—New Falerii. It was then that the Faliscan gods were reverentially moved to Rome, as was so often done in conquered cities. Juno Curitis, the

patron goddess, Minerva Capta, Janus Quadrifrons, all found new sanctuaries in Rome.

Recently two temples have been found in the abandoned city. The larger of the two was outside the walls in the citadel and was probably the main temple of Juno. I have already spoken of it as approaching in size and form the Capitoline temple. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the city is its site, so strong and yet so low, surrounded on all sides except on the west by deep clefts or ravines occupied by streams: on the east the river Treja; on the north the *rio maggiore* and *del purgatorio;* on the south the *rio Saleto.* Communication with the surrounding country was entirely by bridges. Even the acropolis or citadel was not in the walls but on the east side and also reached by a bridge and protected by a bend of the river. To descend one of these perpendicular clefts by goat paths and steps in the rock and then look up at the bridges is a unique sensation in the study of city sites. Though hardly rising above the level of the plain it is as thoroughly isolated as if it occupied, like Volsinii (Orvieto), the whole expanse of a high rocky plateau.

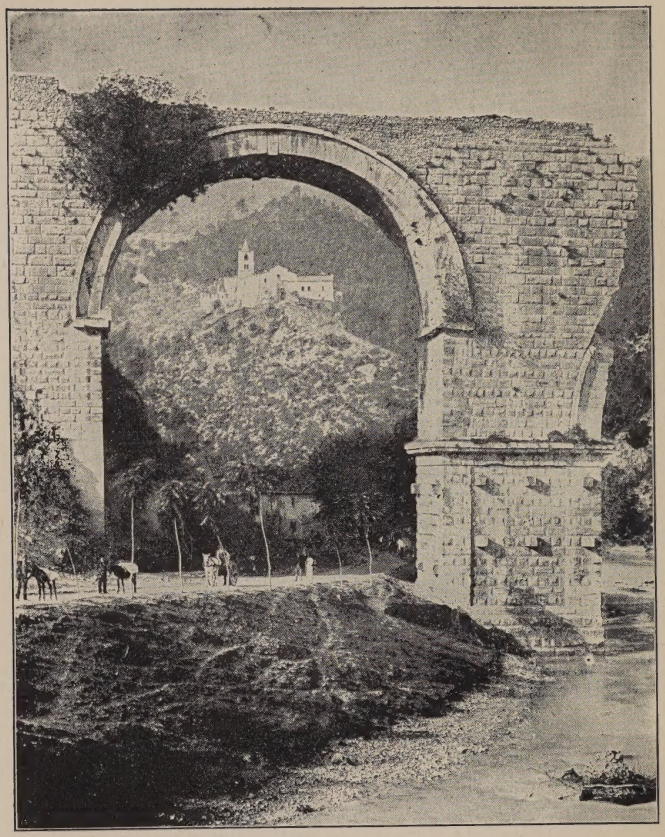
In the old city, then, the modern Civita Castellana, which can be easily reached from Rome by the trolley which passes the foot of poetic

Soracte, one hires a team to drive out to the new Falerii, to which we will now return. We enter it first by what is now the main gate, called Porta di Giove, which is set in the apex of the triangle of the walls. The amphitheater is outside and of this and the theater, inside, not enough remains to give much of a clue to their age. The walls and gates are well worth studying. They are between seven and nine feet thick and are strengthened by about eighty square towers, projecting about ten feet from the wall line. The view of the Porta di Giove gives part of its two flanking towers. The voussoirs and moldings are of peperino, but this is the only trace of any other material than red tufa in the entire circuit. Over the keystone is the youthful head of a beardless deity, which looks less like the Jove it has been popularly named than the Juno who was the patron divinity of the new city, as she had been of the old city. The later name, in fact, under the Empire was Colonia Junonia Falisca Etruscorum.

The only other gate of interest that remains is the Porta di Bove, which I have already described, and from which a steep passage leads up to the city level from the low side of the ravine. Of the towers, about fifty remain. The tufa blocks are arranged in courses two feet high

in alternate lines of headers and stretchers. They are, perhaps, the most extensive ruins in a style analogous to the Servian wall in Rome, before the use of small units came into fashion toward the close of the Republic.

Just inside the Porta di Bove are the ruins of a Cistercian monastery of the twelfth century. built with the materials from the walls. My first visit to this site was for the sake of this medieval ruin, for the church had bold tunnel vaults, very unusual in Italy, which fell less than a century ago. The entire site is now owned by a gentleman farmer who keeps a caretaker in the ruined monastery. The key to the church was not to be found and I remember applying my camera to a crack in the heavy wooden door; when the film was developed I saw the interior of the church for the first time, which I missed seeing with my own eyes. It is an additional incentive for a visit to the ancient city.



Narni (near) Augustan and pre-Augustan Bridge for the Via Flaminia

V

The Umbrians and the Flaminian Way

North of the Sabines and of Picenum, and east of the Etruscans, was Umbria, reaching up the Adriatic seaboard as far north as Ravenna and bisected, at the time we shall visit it, by the Via Flaminia. One has an instinctive sympathy for the Umbrians because from the time we begin to know them, they are always the under dog in the clash of races, the plaything of circumstances. In earlier centuries, before Rome was, they are said to have possessed a large part of Northern and Central Italy, from sea to sea, from Alps to Apennines. Pliny remarks, with misty exaggeration, that the Etruscans had annexed three hundred of their cities. The Ligurians to westward, and the Senonian Gauls and other tribes to the eastward, had destroyed their supremacy in the north; and the Etruscans had deprived them of their possession west of the Tiber, though they continued to live in the districts they had lost.

Better than any other Italians they represent in historic times the primitive pre-Hellenic and pre-Etruscan population of Italy. Not over-

troubled with idealistic heroism, with political dreams or ambitions, and preferring quiet possession of their homes to a struggle for liberty, the Umbrians became accustomed to amalgamating with their conquerors rather than to emigrating. The splendid slow moving white cattle of Umbria are a fit emblem of the race, its patience and its industry. So when the Romans, in their northward advance at the close of the fourth century, first came to grips with them they found a rather chastened and humble-minded race, easily persuaded to acquiesce in the Roman protectorate. There seems not to have been any organized league of Umbrian communities with a common policy. When a Roman army was attempting to cross the difficult passes in the Apennines of Northern Umbria in 210 in order to attack the Etruscans, the Umbrian Camertes, who commanded this district, became their allies. Yet after the Romans had defeated the Etruscans at the Vadimonian lake and had entered Central Etruria for the first time, a number of the Umbrian cities took alarm at these first signs of Roman aggression northward and gathered their forces near Mevania with the rumored intention of a march on Rome. Their defeat here in 307 opened up Umbria, and its submission was completed by the victory of Sentinum in 295.

The first Umbrian commonwealth to accept the new order was Ocriculum (307 B.C.), the modern Otricoli. This town was the gate to Umbria, standing near the Tiber at the opening of the valley of the Nar (Nera), through which the Via Flaminia was soon to pass. The ruins of the Roman city which succeeded the Umbrian are still extensive,—a good-sized amphitheater (arena sixty-seven by forty-five meters), a theater (seventy-six meters), Thermae, forum and basilica, interesting for its well preserved plan. Some of the finest early imperial sculptures in the Vatican were found here, including the famous Jupiter of Otricoli, so long thought to represent the Pheidian type of the god.

Narni and Terni

Twelve miles farther up the river Nar, on a hill one thousand feet high (three hundred and thirty-two meters) was the first stronghold of Southern Umbria, Nequinum. It was in 299, eight years after the annexation of Ocriculum, that the Romans sent a colony here, and changed the name of the city to Narnia, from the river. Its strategic importance is evident. It not only commanded the river where it issues from a deep and narrow pass but was at the junction of the Flaminia with the highways into northwest

Umbria, to Ameria and Tuder, where Monte Corviano and Monte Santa Croce meet in most picturesque fashion.

The grandiose bridge which here carries the Flaminia, joining the city to the high hillside, was rebuilt by Augustus in the form in which we see it, sadly curtailed as it is. It is a greyhound among bridges, and was famous even in classic times for its boldness and height. The poet Martial sings of it and the Byzantine Procopius, that much traveled courtier and historian of Justinian, says that it was the loftiest he had ever seen. Choisy, the most scientific of modern historians of architecture, praises the ingenious structure of its twisting tunnel vaults, strengthened by numerous parallel ribbings. The widest arch, now fallen, measured thirty-two meters in span and was thirty meters—more than ninety feet—above the river. At present only one of the three smaller arcades is standing, with two-thirds this span. The rest were swept away in the eighth, the eleventh and later centuries. The original length, including the retaining walls, was nearly four hundred and forty feet (one hundred and forty-five meters), and the width only about twenty-five feet (7.96 meters).[1]

[1] In this neighborhood are several other good early Roman bridges: the Ponte Sanguinario on the way to Otricoli; the bridge

If I seem to place some emphasis on this bridge it is not merely on account of its beauty, but because it seems to me even more important in the history of Roman construction than has been supposed. It is universally attributed to Augustus; but I believe that the emperor merely restored it. Even our illustration, if examined through a glass, will show two constructive periods, by two quite different methods. The lower half, including all of the piers and the spring of the arches, is built of alternate courses of headers and stretchers. This is the method used throughout the Republican age from the time of the Servian wall to the Tabularium. It is substituted under Augustus by the alternation of headers and stretchers in the same course in all careful work.

It may be argued that in some Augustan works, such as the encircling wall of the forum of Augustus, the earlier method survives and that it could therefore have been used under him in the bridge at Narni. This would be just possible were it not for two other reasons for assigning a pre-Augustan date to this lower section. The first reason is that the upper part is clearly of

over the torrent Calamone, with two arcades and a central pier with a vent; the bridge over the Cardano, with five arches, no cut-waters and the considerable length of one hundred and twenty meters.

different construction; that the exact point where this begins is evident, and that this work can hardly be later than Augustus, on account of the primitive character of both masonry and arch voussoirs and molding. The second reason is that the piers have other pre-Augustan characteristics; the absence of breakwater buttresses, and of arched vents to ease the strain in times of flood.[1] We may, therefore, consider the Narni bridge as designed, if not at the time of the construction of the Via Flaminia,[2] at least not later than the time of Sulla. The fallen masonry shows that the core was of concrete and the blocks of the revetment fastened by iron clamps, leaded. The medieval destruction was due to the bursting of a Roman dam higher up and the sudden rush of pent-up waters through the narrow pass above the bridge: it was not due to any defects in the bridge.

Beyond Narni the Flaminia passes toward Interamna, the modern Terni, which was not a Roman colony but an allied municipality, a federated city. Only four years after the colony of Narnia was founded the Romans at the decisive battle of Sentinum had put an end to Umbrian

[1] Restoration in Choisy, *L'Art de batir chez les Romains.*

[2] The bridges I have examined which can be dated as early as the original road were of more primitive quasi-cyclopean structure with immense blocks.

resistance, and from that time forward the towns of Umbria, of Picenum and Etruria may be considered as all belonging to one of the four categories into which the subjects of Rome were divided: (1) Cities of the *ager romanus*, (2) Latin colonies, (3) federated cities, (4) municipalities without the rights of suffrage. In Umbria only Narnia and Spoletum were colonies. The first controlled, as we have seen, lower Western Umbria, where it opens into the valley of the Tiber. The second was to do the same beyond the pass in Central Umbria. Interamna, as a federated city, came between the large territories of these two colonies though without cutting off their communications.

Terni is far from being as picturesque as Narni, and we can see in its low and defenseless site the reason the Romans allowed it to remain an allied city instead of a military colony. It is at a height of only one hundred thirty meters on the right bank of the Nar, at the junction of several highways: of the Flaminia, which went on to Carsulae, of the Salaria, which went up to Reate through Sabina, and of the road over the Somma pass to Spoletum. This made it a great commercial center. The antique remains, however, are quite fragmentary. There is enough left of the walls to show that they were not polyg-

onal, like those of Spoletum, but of large squared blocks of travertine carefully faced. The baths, theater and amphitheater were all quite early. The theater, either of the late Republic or the Augustan age, still existed in fairly complete condition at the Renaissance, and of the amphitheater there is even now a sufficient stretch to show that its diameter was 96.50 meters, and its arena measured 52.18 meters: its date is later.

The most spectacular sight is, of course, the famous falls of Terni, one of the few grandiose things in which "art has surpassed nature" as the ancients often—too often—were in the habit of boasting. It was in 271 B.C. that Curius Dentatus cut near here in the mountain a passage for the river Velinus, which allowed it to fall from the tableland of Reate (Rieti) in Sabina into the valley of the Nar in a triple cascade of unsurpassed beauty. Incidentally it is not uninteresting to note that the region of Reate and that part of Sabina running southwest from here down toward the sacred city of Cures, has interesting early polygonal remains, comparable to those we have already studied. The country is extremely picturesque but traveling is not easy,—except by automobile,—and barring Rieti itself, the inns are impossible.

Spoleto and Ascoli

We can go to Spoleto with no such misgivings. In no small Italian town are one's creature comforts and one's esthetic pleasures more harmoniously blended. Many years ago, while ransacking Umbria for early Christian and medieval art I had found Spoleto decidedly the most fruitful field, but I was far from suspecting it of especial interest as a Roman city. As a matter of fact it is only quite recently that most of the discoveries have been made in this field.

It is reached after quite an abrupt rise from Terni after topping the ridge that connects the Umbrian with the loftier Abruzzi Apennines, and descending into the plain of Central Umbria. Spoleto, set on its hill against the mountain background, was always one of the main Umbrian strongholds. It was accessible only on one side, by a narrow neck of land. Even in the early Middle Ages, when it was the capital of a Lombard duchy, it was a grievous thorn in the side of papal Rome until Pepin and Charlemagne stamped out Lombard independence.

It was in 241 B.C. that Spoleto received a colony with Latin rights, one of the last group of twelve genuine Latin colonies sent out by

Rome, the first of which was Rimini (268 B.C.) and the latest Aquileia (181 B.C.). At that time, probably, the polygonal city walls of the older Umbrian town were remodeled in the way we can best study along the tract recently uncovered in front of the main approach to the city. There is here an interesting juxtaposition of the cyclopean and the straight-course masonry which was done either then or after the sacking of the town by Sulla's troops during the civil war.[1] For Spoleto, like most Italian cities, took the side of Marius and suffered severely, though not as drastically treated as Praeneste. The walls rise here to a most unusual height and are clearly polygonal in their lower section. This polygonal portion of the walls must certainly antedate 241 B.C. In 90 B.C. Spoleto, with the rest of the Umbrian and Etruscan cities that had not taken part in the civil war, received full rights of Roman citizenship in place of those of a Latin colony. Almost at once came the sack by Sulla.

The reconstruction of the city that seems to have followed this disaster, makes of the half-century between Sulla and Augustus the golden age of Roman art at Spoleto. It is due al-

[1] A slightly post-Sullan Latin inscription in the upper part of this wall gives the names of the two city magistrates (*quatuorviri*) who superintended the restoration (CIL. XI, 4809).

most entirely to the energy and knowledge of a most unusual local inspector of antiquities, Cav. Giovanni Soldini, that Roman Spoletum is ceasing to be a myth and a puzzle. It is to be hoped that he may find the means to carry out a clear scheme of his which will open it up still further, for several sections of the modern town stand on artificial levels formed entirely of ancient ruins in varying states of preservation and we know that even Renaissance humanists saw buildings that are now not destroyed but hidden.

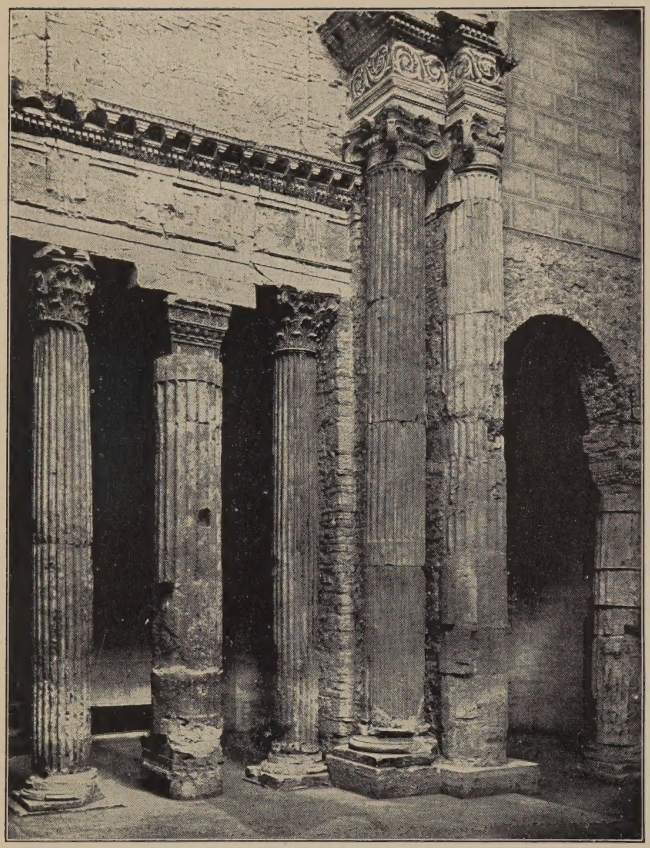
We can already see that while the natural development of public life led, at later times, to the addition of such buildings as the amphitheater and a new theater to supplement the older one, our interest must center around the pre-Sullan and post-Sullan monuments of that rare and interesting period preceding the Augustan efflorescence, about which we know so little—the age of Cæsar and Cicero. To this time seem to belong such buildings as the Capitolium or temple of the Roman triad, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva; the memorial arch attached to the Capitolium and dedicated to Germanicus and Drusus; the basilica or colonnade at the north end of the forum; the great bridge at the city gate; the old theater that adjoins the forum.

The Capitolium became in Lombard times the

church of S. Ansano, and was probably the earliest cathedral of the city. Only Soldini appears to have realized that in the present walls of the church are incorporated the walls of the ancient cella and that part of its beautiful frieze, perhaps of Augustan art, perhaps earlier, is still in place. Hidden in the church walls were also some of the large Corinthian columns of the pronaos, two of them *in situ*.

It is quite an unusual treat to visit the excavations that have laid bare the podium of the Capitolium underneath the church. The wide subterranean trench opened around the foundations is well lighted by electricity. The double stepped basement of the temple is one of the most perfect pieces of early Roman stonework I have ever examined. The blocks of travertine are sometimes enormous—one cornerstone is over twelve meters long; the joints are fine and the surfaces perfectly worked.

The width of the basement is ten meters, allowing for a gable with four columns on the front and two on the sides. A most curious feature are two parallel vaulted passageways in the front part of the basement, which perforate it on a line parallel with the façade. It would seem as if they corresponded to a street which ran into the forum at this point and were made for traffic. If so they are unique. Perhaps they



Spoleto, Interior of the Church of the Crocifisso showing profuse and confused use of Roman material

are explained by an interesting feature in the basement, a break in the masonry where these passages occur, which shows that at some period the basement was lengthened toward the front in order to make it possible to add, we may imagine, the more stately and spacious portico of Corinthian columns which still partly remains. As there is no great difference in the masonry this addition cannot be dated very much later than the original structure. Another explanation of these passages is one that is suggested by a few other cases of sub-cella chambers, namely that they were storerooms for sacred objects or annexes to the temple, like the chambers in the podium of the temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome. Cav. Soldini is planning to complete the freeing of the substructure and to dig into the core underneath the cella, in the hope of finding the *favissae* and their contents. There is every reason to believe, from early texts and drawings, that until the seventeenth century one side of the cella wall was practically intact with its marble decoration!

At a distance of only a meter and a half from the temple there rises, parallel with its façade, a memorial arch. To both Soldini and myself it seems probable that a corresponding arch once stood on the other side, as was the case at Pompeii

and in the forum of Augustus at Rome; it has not yet been possible to test this theory by excavation but this he is anxious to do as soon as possible. The arch has its foundations on the same level as the temple and emerges on the present narrow street that skirts S. Ansano. Its piers are imbedded in the walls on both sides so that little more than the arcade is visible; but half buried as it is, shorn of its frieze and attic and with its piers hidden, it is of extraordinary interest on account of its age and position.

It is a plain structure of travertine and the large blocks above the single archway bear two inscriptions, in honor of those idols of the Roman populace, Germanicus and Drusus. Above each inscription the attic was once crowned by statues of these two generals, when, after their death, the Roman senate voiced the popular feelings of sad enthusiasm by voting the erection of arches and statues in their honor. The arch has for this reason been dated in about the year 23 A.D., when Drusus died, — Germanicus having preceded him about four years.

I never doubted this date until recently when I studied the arch in detail for my volume on monumental arches, and was forced to the conclusion that it was much earlier and that the inscriptions were a later addition. Pliny tells

us that it was in the time of Augustus that it first became the custom to use arches as bases for honorary statues, and there can be no objection to the theory that this arch at Spoleto was turned into such an honorary base when the fashion was set by the arches to Germanicus and Drusus in a similar position at Rome in the forum of Augustus on either side of the temple of Mars.

In fact the primitive forms of this arch forbid us to attribute it to anything but a pre-Augustan date. Its quasi-Corinthian pilaster capitals follow not Greek but Etruscan models, and there are as yet no cornices under and above the frieze, nor any of the usual memberment of Augustan arches. A perfectly plain pair of pilasters decorate the corners and another pair receive the archivolts of the arcade, after the early manner of the arches at Pompeii, Philippi and Aix-les-Bains before the engaged columns had become so universally popular in the designs for Augustan arches. We therefore can call this arch at Spoleto not only the earliest extant Roman memorial arch, but the most interesting instance of a sacred or religious arch, a class prevalent in the earlier days of Rome, but which under the Empire became overshadowed by the civic and political arches.

We should naturally date the original building

of the Capitolium and its arch in about the year 90 B.C. when the granting of burgess rights to the city made it possible and necessary for it to have its Capitoline temple modeled on that of Rome itself. This agrees entirely with their architectural characteristics. Some day I expect to show the fallacy of the current theory that the blocks belonging to an arch now lying in the Roman forum, almost opposite the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, once formed part of the famous memorial arch of the Fabii. This arch, mentioned by Cicero and other ancient writers, formed the upper boundary of the forum, and commemorated great men and great victories of the Fabian generals. It was built in 121 B.C. and restored in 85 B.C. It stood in the neighborhood of the spot where the above-mentioned blocks were found; but I believe I can prove that these blocks not only never belonged to the arch of Fabii, but must be over a century later. To get some idea of the real appearance of the arch of the Fabii, I think the best criterion is this arch at Spoleto, which is contemporary with the restoration of the Fabian arch. Of course it is simpler because the arch in Rome, if we are to believe the stories as to the fragments discovered in the sixteenth century, was decorated with reliefs of arms and armor; but the con-

structive lines were probably the same, as well as the methods of construction.

Other buildings can be traced along other sides of the forum square of Spoleto. A colonnade and perhaps a basilica at the north end have not yet been excavated. Here and in other parts of the city it becomes quite an exciting game to descend, with Soldini as guide, into the cellars and substructures of the modern buildings, locate sections of the Roman structures, and try to piece them together so as to make out their plan and style.

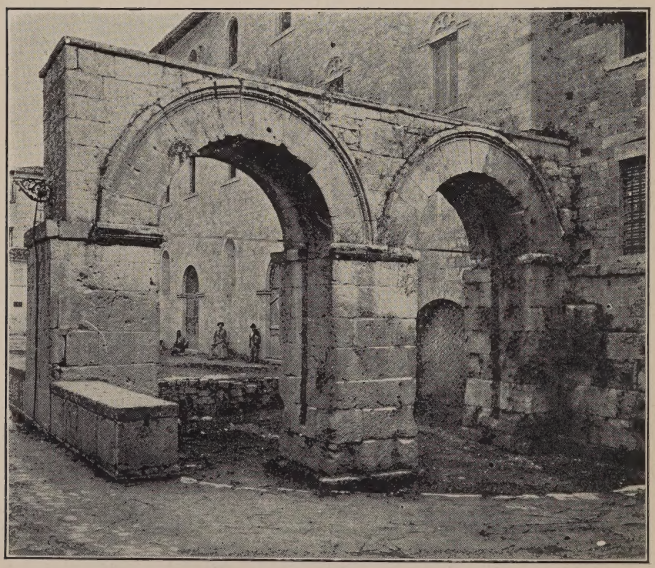
The most interesting of these hunts was after the two theaters. The older one adjoined the forum and in its primitive construction of large blocks with careful tooling gave probability to the conjecture that it was not later than the Augustan age. It still exists in large part under the streets and houses and merely awaits excavation—which would be more expensive than difficult. It is most unusual to find two theaters in a town of anything like the size of Spoleto, and yet there is no doubt that Soldini has identified, under the large municipal building, a second theater, which its style of construction seems to date not earlier than the Antonines. It lies at a considerable distance from the forum and is easier to excavate than the older structure. I

was much interested to find, only a week after leaving Spoleto, at the Uffizi in Florence a drawing by the famous renaissance architect Baldassare Peruzzi, in which the theater is given as complete, with all its measurements, showing that it must have been accessible at that time even though underground. Peruzzi says that it was to be seen "in a monastery (*in uno monasterio*)."

It would be well worth while to examine these two theaters more carefully, because it may be that here, as at Pompeii, the larger theater was of the usual type for open-air performances, and the smaller one was a covered theater for winter use. We shall see that farther north, in the high Alps at Aosta, the colder climate led the Romans to make the only theater of the city a *theatrum tectum,* or covered theater.

Passing down from this theater in the upper part of the town to the city gate that faces the plain, in order to study the old bridge, I went into the military casern to see what remains of the amphitheater. It is unique at Spoleto in being still largely above ground. It is cut up, to be sure, by the casern buildings, and only its concrete core remains, because all the blocks of the facing were torn away by that vandal cardinal Albornoz when he rebuilt the old Lombard citadel on the hilltop that overlooks the

Spoleto, Arch of Germanicus
and Drusus



Ascoli, Early Roman City Gate

Plate xxx

city in order that the papal garrison might more thoroughly overawe the populace. Still, even as it is the curved tunnel vaulting, intersected by the vaults of the arcades, is an interesting example of Roman construction, and by its size shows the importance of Spoleto under the middle Empire.

But it is the bridge in front of the gate that produces a most unusual impression. A modern bridge spans the river that passes near the gate and it was here that in Roman times also the main approach must have been by a road that is still exactly followed in the modern highway, as it reaches the city at its only accessible point. A guard opens a trap door in the dust of the esplanade in front of the city gate and one descends, by the light of a lantern, a long flight of steps to emerge on a platform and see a ghostlike bridge over a ghostlike river, an evocation of the age before Julius Cæsar.

For here is a bridge of quite large size, nearly eighty feet long (twenty-four meters) and nearly forty-five feet high (fourteen meters), with three arcades, one of which is larger than the others, still standing in perfect preservation, waiting merely for the magic wand of the excavator to remove the concealing lid and give it back to practical use. Through it the river

rushes, hushed by the stillness of the vaults and lapping the steps on which I stood to watch it as a weird evocation. It was not as marvelous a structure as the larger bridge at Narni, but only a small part of that bridge remains and it is of mixed Augustan and earlier structure, while this one at Spoleto is of one style and that pre-Augustan. In fact, considering the many remodelings and disfigurements of the even earlier Mulvian bridge near Rome, and the smaller dimensions of the other earlier bridges along the Flaminian and other highways, one can study here better than anywhere the methods of the pre-Augustan Roman engineers in bridge construction, in the outlines and proportions of their piers, in the use of wide slits in the piers to prevent the pressure of the water, and their system of arched structure in its course of evolution toward the more structural forms of the middle Empire. Its perfect preservation when compared with the destruction of the majority of Augustan bridges, would really argue in favor of the skill of these engineers of the previous generation. An inscription now walled into the campanile of the cathedral originally came, I am sure, from this bridge. It gives the magistrates who built it and supports my theory of its date:

M · LVVCIVS · M · F
C · VEIENVS · C · F
IIII · VIR · I · D · S · C
PONTEM · FACIV
CVR · PROBARVNTQ

The use of the double V in Lucius would indicate as possible an even earlier date than I would have dared to ascribe to the bridge, anywhere between about 135 and 70 B.C. I believe this to be the earliest known Roman bridge inscription: no one has connected it with this bridge, so far as I am aware.

Of course there are other Roman buildings in and near Spoleto; the charming house of Vespasian's mother; traces of the ancient Baths built by Torasius; the mysterious Christian basilica of the Crocifisso with its massive classic fragments worked into the structure, and then, at quite a distance, the picturesque little temple at the poetic sources of the Clitumnus which still give us a glimmering of that feeling that made Pliny so eloquent in describing them and the temple that was, perhaps, the predecessor of the one we now see, which, notwithstanding the glamour that surrounds it, cannot be dated earlier than the fourth century.

It is evident that Spoleto under and after

Augustus expanded far beyond its walls, beyond the bridge and the river. It is here that the early Christian monuments are most numerous. I must at least put the visitor to the ancient city on his guard against the notion that the puzzle of the basilica of the Crocifisso is an easy one to solve. Here is a façade with extraordinarily interesting doorways and windows that were held to be early Christian and Constantinian until Father Grisar undertakes to prove them Romanesque products of the twelfth century! I am not sure, now, that Soldini does not believe them earlier than Constantine. The interior is an even greater puzzle. It is a maze of colossal and other antique columns; of effective classic Roman cornices and friezes set at quite a dizzy height; of a ground plan so remodeled as to leave one in doubt whether or no there was an antique structure on the site, or whether the ancient spoils were brought, possibly, from the Capitoline temple. Finally, but not least, there is the dome over the intersection in front of the apse, which has a pre-Byzantine flavor, if we are to believe some critics, but which would not be so marvelous were it a work of the Romanesque age, which produced the domes of Ancona and Pisa cathedrals. At all events the pieces of ancient architecture in this basilica are the best proof we have

in Spoleto of the magnificence and size of some of her imperial structures.

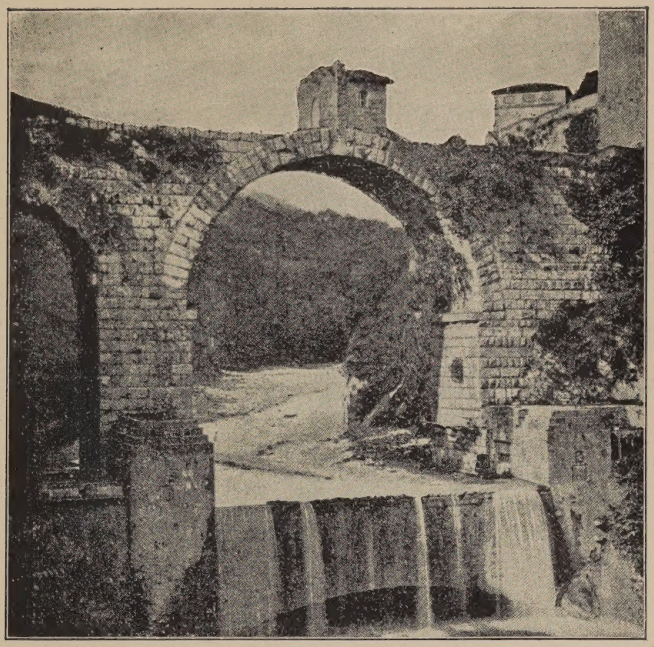
There is also another and even more spectacular mystery in architecture: the high viaduct-aqueduct called Ponte delle Torri that connects Spoleto with the hill behind it. Of course the arcades are medieval, but the piers seem Roman, though I omitted to make a careful enough study of their masonry to feel at all certain of their date. The structure is of brickwork two hundred and six meters long and eighty-one meters high.

Viewed as a whole and as a type, Spoleto exemplified the transformation of an old town into a newer colony at a particularly interesting time—that of Sulla—and has nothing of that regularity of the Roman camp-city which is so soon to come into being and will be exemplified in our study of Turin and Aosta.

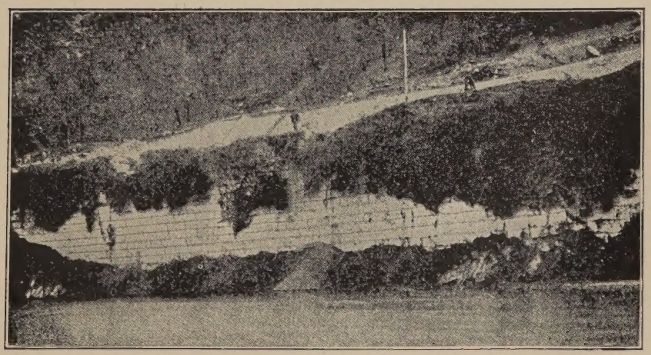
From Spoleto there is an excursion of extraordinary interest to Asculum, the modern Ascoli Piceno. Of course it can be visited in ordinary "bromidic" fashion by the railroad on the Adriatic side, but I would appeal to all lovers of beauty to take the motor omnibus which starts from Spoleto every day for Ascoli by way of Nursia (*Norcia*). It is one of the most beautiful mountain excursions in Italy. Ascoli is an unspoiled city, breathing at every corner medieval

and renaissance art and life, so that the few Roman ruins are hardly noticeable; and yet one of them at least, the Porta Romana, is what a Roman archæologist would go far to see, if he knew of it.

This double gate was, it would seem, the main entrance of the Roman city, as it spans the road where the Via Salaria enters. The ancient pre-Roman city was bathed for nine tenths of its circuit by two rivers, the Tronto and Castellano. It was the capital of Picenum, commanded the mountain passes, the roads to the Adriatic coast and to Umbria. One of these passes is between Monte Vittore (two thousand four hundred and seventy-six meters) and Pizzo di Sevo (two thousand four hundred and twenty-two meters) at a height of over three thousand feet. Asculum, though it was the only city to be honored as an ally, seems to have been the leader among the seceding cities of Picenum in the social war of 90 B.C., when it started the movement of revolt of the united Italians against Rome in the claim for equal rights by murdering Roman officials and citizens. There is quite an epic strain in this struggle. We know that then and for some time before, Asculum was a strong fortress, and we have every reason to assign to some period previous to the war of 90 B.C. the double gate of the Porta Romana.



Ascoli, Early Roman Bridge



Ascoli (near), Substructure of Via Salaria

Plate xxxi

The simplicity of this gate is a warrant for its pre-Augustan character. We have here the finest example of what the early inscriptions call a *porta gemina,*—a city gate with two openings, one for incoming and one for outgoing vehicles. At Rome the Porta Carmentalis appears to have been of this type. No other pre-Augustan gate, except the Pompeian, has preserved this type, and this Ascoli gate is much finer. The structure of the voussoirs without archivolts and without interpenetration is not only pre-Augustan: it rather indicates a date not later than the third or second centuries before Christ. It is of large blocks of well cut travertine of the severest type, without molding or decoration.

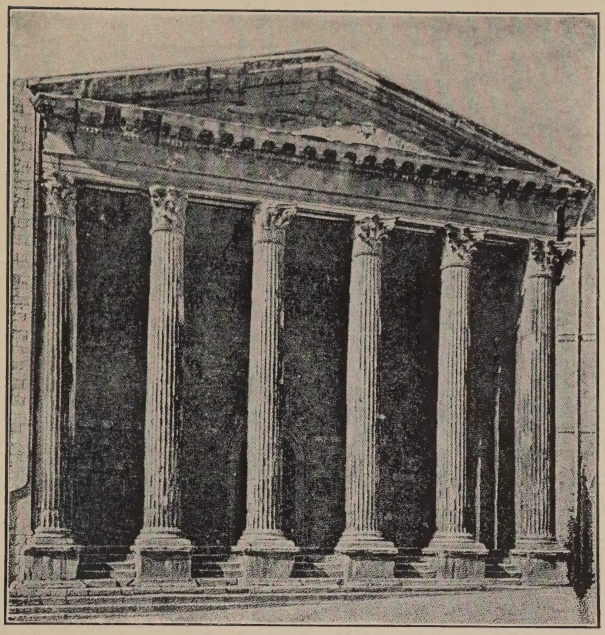
Not far from Ascoli, toward Acquasanta, there is a notable bit of retaining wall of the Via Salaria, in beautifully polished and jointed blocks of white travertine in *opus isodomum* of the Augustan age, and of the same age is the superb bridge over which the ancient road crosses the Castellano river, west of the city, almost immediately after issuing from the Porta Romana. It is now called "Ponte di Cecco," and was built about 20 B.C. The wider arch has a span of 14.50 meters and a height of 24.80 meters from the river bed. This entire region, but especially South and Central Umbria, is especially rich in Augustan and earlier bridges.

Assisi

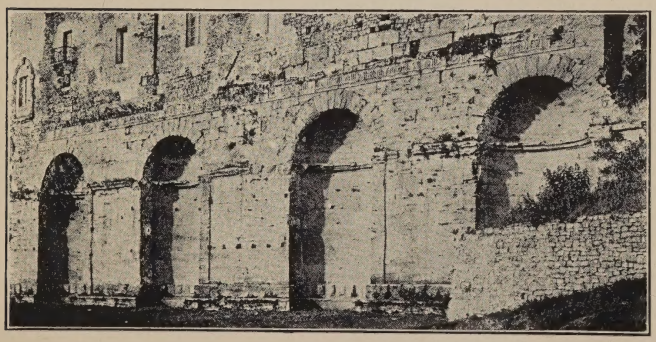
If we now return to Umbria, it will show us several interesting commonwealths of this transitional age, thanks to the conservatism that made her loath to join the quixotic heroes of the social war. It is at Assisi that we find a picture of an old Umbrian town satisfied to be an ally of Rome. It is as representative of these municipalities as Spoletum is of the Roman colonies.

It is not often that one can extract a smile out of a perusal of Baedeker, but my sense of humor was touched each time that my eye caught the single word "uninteresting," set in parentheses, as the only guide-book reference to the remains of the ancient forum of Assisi. They can be visited underground from the square in front of the so-called temple of Minerva, which originally stood at the head of the forum on a slight eminence. It so happens, *pace* Baedeker, that it is quite one of the most interesting and earliest of extant forums and one that furnished me with the best answer to a puzzling question that I had been asking myself as well as others in regard to the Roman forum.

Could the Roman forum be closed to access on all sides? Were there gates across each entrance? I thought that it must have been so, but asked in vain of philologians and archæologists for pas-



Assisi, The Capitolium or Temple of Minerva



Todi, Enclosure of Ancient Forum

sages in literature and for material evidence of the fact. Even Dr. Hülsen seemed not to have taken this question into account in his forum studies. My explanation of the hitherto unexplained thin Janus archways (*iani pervii*) that spanned the vicus Tuscus and vicus Jugarius as they open into the forum is that they were intended to frame and support gates by which the forum could be closed. The other approaches: the Clivus Argentarius, the Argiletum and the Via Sacra, were also all spanned by archways which could have served and probably did serve the same purpose.

In Republican times, when games and shows were so often given in the forum instead of in special structures like circus and amphitheater, it must have been quite necessary to close the forum, but the real origin of the custom was, I believe, different.

I found confirmation of my theory in the forum of Pompeii, where Mau notes the traces of gates; and this testimony of about the Augustan age needed just the strengthening which I now found at Assisi, in the earlier simple type of the forum of the Republican age, which gives, on a far smaller scale, some idea of what the Roman forum may originally have been.

Before describing it I must speak of its

crowning glory, the Capitoline temple, at the upper end of the forum, because though well known and admired ever since the Renaissance for the exquisite beauty of its wide portico of Corinthian columns in extraordinary preservation, I was able to make at the time of my visit a rather important addition to our knowledge of its history and vicissitudes. It has always been called the Temple of Minerva and was preserved by being converted into a church. It really must have been dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, like other capitolia, and in style warrants the attribution, in its present form, to the reign of Augustus, a date which is commonly given it on the strength of its building inscription.[1] What I believe I have discovered is its pre-Augustan form and date.

Assisi is built on so steep a sloping hillside that the temple backed against the hill, which towered above it, behind a retaining wall, and yet stood high above the pavement of the forum, stretching at its foot at a distance of about four meters. The forum had a decidedly oblong form, with the long side parallel to the façade of the temple.

[1] The inscription is C I L XI, 5378, and reads: Cn. T. Caesii Cn. F. Tiro et Priscus IIII viri quinquennales sua pecunia fecerunt. These two brothers were the local magistrates elected every five years. They were allowed to inscribe their names on the façade because they not only oversaw the building but paid for it.

The level space below was artificially secured by excavation and by the use of an upper and a lower retaining wall for the forum square. This gave to the Capitolium that effect of being on a hill above the forum, aimed at in cities that sought to imitate the topography of Rome.

The municipal guards have their office next to the old temple and by going back of it one may study the left side of the antique cella and the spectacular early retaining walls back of it. In trying to find some trace of a temple arch such as the one next to the capitolium of Spoleto I examined at the rear angle the very hard and marble-like stucco Corinthian pilaster 1.04 meters wide which showed how the sides and rear were decorated with pilasters that corresponded exactly to the columns of the portico and showed also how the deep channels of these columns were originally stuccoed, though this heavy incrustation has now disappeared.

Then, as I followed the line of cella wall toward the front, I came across an aperture cut in it which had brought to light a peculiar fact the meaning of which was at once clear to me, though I found it had not been noticed by local or visiting archæologists and architects. At a certain point in the thickness of the wall there appeared a *second inner wall* of earlier and care-

ful course masonry, not intended, like the Augustan rubble wall, to be covered with stucco or marble slabs. There was even at this point, to prove the original independence of this inner wall, a small round-topped door with an opening of 1.05 meters, which originally opened into the cella and which was covered up when the Augustan architects added their facing around the entire cella and built the present colonnaded portico. This Augustan facing was only sixty-five centimeters thick.

Here, then, was the cella of the early, pre-Augustan temple, dating either from the second or third century B.C., when the forum of the city was laid out in the form in which we see it, and the retaining wall below the temple was built or rebuilt, or from the date of its earliest form. This is, I believe, *the first cella of a temple of the Republican era* that has been noted north of Rome. It is, of course, considerably later than that of Signia, which I have already described.

This will explain the peculiar arrangement of the steps that lead up to the temple. Instead of terminating, as is usual, in front of the columns they pass between them and terminate inside the *pronaos* or portico. This was due to the impossibility of throwing the steps farther forward toward the retaining wall of the forum when the

Augustan (or post-Sullan) architects decided to remodel the temple according to their more sumptuous norms, which involved, as usual, a considerable enlargement of the portico. The cramped space made this makeshift in the arrangement of the steps necessary, in order to keep in front of them the small free space for the altar, immediately on the axis of the temple, above the retaining wall. This wall is pierced at this point to allow of two staircases, which descended to the forum level on either side of the altar.

The porticoes of most of the earlier capitolia seem to have had only four columns; even in the Augustan age that of Pola retains this number. But here at Assisi, in emulation of the later Roman model, there are six columns which were originally faced with very fine stucco. This has disappeared, leaving the travertine exposed.

We, however, must descend through a trap-door in the square, and visit the old forum by torchlight. It has been excavated and made accessible under the modern square as far as is possible without interfering with the foundations of the houses, but at different times trial diggings, and in particular the excavations of about 1820, have given the size and shape of the original area, which is over three times as large as

what we can see. However, what we do see is the central and most interesting section, with the tribunal for the magistrates and the base for the monument decorating the center of the square.

First of all I must describe the way the forum was bounded. It contained about three thousand eight hundred square meters and measured, roughly, eighty-five meters from east to west and forty-five meters from north to south. On every side except the one facing the temple, the forum was not only surrounded by a high and solid wall of masonry but this wall was faced with a Doric portico sustained by columns and pilasters, some fragments of which may still be seen in the square above. This gave a cloistered effect to the square and followed what was probably a general norm in forums of this time. In the center of each of the three sides was an entrance corresponding to a city street, the main one leading down the slope opposite the temple, being said, on an old local tradition, to have led to the Janus arch of the city, in the present Vescovado square. This corresponded apparently to the Janus with which each early settlement in Rome was provided.

These three Janus gates of the forum remind one of the passage in Livy about the founding of the Roman colony at Sinuessa, in 174 B.C., and

the laying out of its forum with three Janus archways by the Roman magistrates. In this and in other forums of the Republican age Livy speaks of the shops and halls built around the square and inclosing it. Here then is a proof that the early fora were inclosed and even walled in. Of course the walling-in was not nearly as apparent in other and later cases where there were basilicas, theaters, market-halls and other buildings to form the façades of the forums, and the habit of having gates may easily have been abandoned after the early Empire.

Another difference between the early forums of Assisi and Rome was that in these Umbrian fora there probably were never any of the gladiatorial fights and other games that were so common in Capua and other Campanian cities and from them borrowed by Rome.

Another peculiar, if not unique, feature of this forum is the judgment seat for its magistrates and the wall behind it for the affixing of their decrees! Assisi was not a colony, but enjoyed autonomy as a municipality under Roman control, until 90 B.C. We know that the *municipium* was governed by a body of six local magistrates called *marones,* before it received burgess rights along with the other loyal towns of Umbria which resisted the lure of the civil

war. Instead of delivering judgment in a separate basilica, as was done later in Rome, these judges sat on a judgment seat in the open air built just between and in front of the steps that led down from the temple. They sat with their backs to the temple on seats of marble or metal the attachments for which still show on the large travertine blocks forming the basement of the platform. This platform has two short wings beside the main body and is reached by two long steps from the forum area. This original area is still preserved with its pavement.

The length of wall between the two stairways immediately behind the tribunal is full of holes. They are too far apart to have been used for the nails by which metal letters were fastened, and it is tolerably certain that they served to attach the various decrees, regulations and announcements passed at the meetings of the magistrates. In this wall surface and in this tribunal we have, I believe, the only known material data for reconstructing in our minds the scenes relating to public affairs in pre-imperial times, in such ancient municipalities as Assisi.

The time and manner of the remodeling of the forum are approximately given by an inscription cut farther along on this same upper wall which was discovered in April of 1907. It gives

the names of the five magistrates who oversaw the work, and its archaic characteristics date it from about the second century B.C. Immediately under this line is a second line which I believe,—though I am not aware whether this has been noted,—to belong to a later date, for it is cut more deeply and with letters that are more germane to the beginning of the Augustan era. This second line states that the stuccoed and painted work was done by decree at the expense of C. Attius Clarus. *C. Attius. T. f. Clarus. opus albarium pictorium sua pecunia S. C. fecit.* Evidently when the temple was remodeled, on the approach of the Augustan age, the forum itself was restored, the columns and decorative work stuccoed and tinted in accordance with the more decorative taste of the new era.

But we can hark back to an even earlier date than the second or third centuries B.C. for the origin of this forum, for at a certain point close to the stairs a bit of inner wall is visible, which shows that the present wall, erected by the magistrates named in the inscription, was a facing added to an earlier wall that had served the same purpose and which perhaps dates before the age of Roman supremacy.

There is one more feature of the forum,—the monument in the center. It was added, appar-

ently at about the time of the early Augustan remodeling, and consisted of a high square basement supporting a four-sided marble canopy or tetrapyle under which were statues of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, presumably standing by their horses. The statuary as well as the four double-faced corner piers with their architraves and covering have disappeared, though they were found when the forum was excavated. But the large inscription covering the entire face that looked toward the main entrance on the Street of Janus remains, telling that Galeo Tettienus Pardalas (a thoroughly Umbrian name) and his wife Tettiena Galene gave to the city this tetrastyle and the statues of Castor and Pollux, and at the dedicatory festival distributed money to the decurions, the seviri and the people. This association of Castor and Pollux with the forum and capitolium is very characteristic and in the chapter on Perugia I have already shown how the Dioscuri, sons of Jupiter, were regarded, not only by the Romans but by the Umbrians and Etruscans, as the patrons and protectors of the city, the body-guard of Jupiter-Juno-Minerva, and the guardians of the capitolium.

Leaving the forum and ascending, in the direction of the old Umbrian citadel, toward the

upper right-hand edge of the town, to the cathedral square, I saw a bit of early architecture that seems to be even less appreciated than the forum itself. Entering the cathedral, a diligent and persistent inquiry led the sacristan to open an inconspicuous door near the beginning of the left-hand aisle. I found myself, on descending a few steps, carrying a taper, in the vaulted interior of a large cistern which originally supplied the Umbrian city with water, and on whose solid vault the cathedral tower was erected. On the wall next to the cistern there still remains a long building inscription which is the most archaic yet found in Assisi, showing the cistern to antedate the forum in its present state. The six city magistrates or *marones* report in it that they have built the wall from the arch to the circus. including the arch and cistern; *murum ab fornice ad circum et fornicem cisternamq. d. s. s. faciundum coiravere.*

Arch and circus have disappeared, but the cistern mentioned in the inscription remains in as perfect condition as when it was built. The hall is not subterranean but built against the rising hillside from which the water was conveyed, through a window in the upper part, by a conduit that is even now usable; while the outlet on the opposite lower end, next to the cathedral, is also

still in perfect condition. At this end is a wide platform above the water level from which a flight of steps led to the bottom of the cistern, which was encircled by a groove for draining off the water.

The covering of the hall is the most remarkable part of the structure: a single bold tunnel vault, 5.10 meters wide and 6.60 meters long, rests upon a heavy molded cornice, 2.35 meters from the floor, which formed a continuous ledge. The entire structure is of blocks of travertine perfectly cut and in regular courses.

In the history of vaulting before the age of Augustus this cistern of Assisi should take a prominent place for it has, I believe, the widest known span of any vaulted structure of this period, even larger than that of the famous Tomba di San Manno near Perugia, which measures only four meters. A cistern near Frasso is even more colossal, with a vault 6.80 meters wide. It should be compared with others of this interesting class, the cisterns of Norba, Cora, Anagni, Volterra, Praeneste and especially with others in Umbria itself, built either on the same type of single vault or in a series of parallel vaulted chambers, as at Amelia, Bevagna, Narni, Todi and other cities, for it is in just such works of engineering that the science of construction

was developed which made the great vaulted structures of the Empire possible and added a new chapter beside that of the Greeks to the history of architecture. The Umbrians seem in this particular to have excelled even the Etruscans. I hope shortly to publish something on this subject.

Thus far it is only from two Assisi inscriptions that we learn of the *marones* as the magistrates administering the Umbrian cities which became *civitates foederatae* under Roman rule. It may seem strange that we know so little of Umbria and her cities in any definite way during the pre-Roman and even the pre-Augustan age. But as a rule the efforts of excavators have been concentrated only on the necropoli of ancient Italy because they repay well in salable material. It may not be commonly known, but it is a fact, that hardly a single Etruscan or Umbrian city has been thoroughly explored, otherwise we would know much more of the pre-Roman architecture. The work would be expensive and only scientifically and historically valuable.

To return to Assisi. It is natural to pass from here to the rest of a group of characteristic Umbrian cities: especially northward to Iguvium (Gubbio), and southwest to Tuder (Todi) by way of Vettona. In fact, just across the valley

from Assisi is Mevania (Bevagna), which disputes with it the right to call itself the birthplace of that exquisite elegiac poet of the Augustan age, Propertius. It must have been an important center for it was here that the Umbrian clans gathered in the only concerted attempt they made to oppose Rome at the beginning of her intrusion. While one can find some traces of Umbrian city walls with Roman repairs, the travertine basement of a temple with Republican cella and early columns of stuccoed brick, there is hardly enough to warrant a visit, if it were not that we can add as a splendid side-show two of the most imposing medieval churches in Umbria—S. Silvestro and S. Michele. They are signed and dated and their dark interiors and colossal tunnel-vaulted naves carry one back to Provence and Burgundy; for such things are almost unknown in Italy.

At Vettona (Bettona), which is near both Bevagna and Assisi, there are better-preserved and quite interesting city walls which seem to be of the time when Rome was first entering the province. They are of carefully jointed courses of tufa, but their early date is shown by the fact that quite frequently the courses are interrupted by larger blocks. The courses are usually .58 m. high and the longest blocks measure 1.70 m. In

style the work resembles that which is placed over the polygonal work in the walls of Spoleto.

Todi and Spello

Tuder (Todi), encircled on all sides by hills, is not near any railway but can be easily reached by automobile-bus from Perugia. It is all the more charged with local color and medievalism. The circuit of the ancient acropolis can be traced, built of travertine blocks in regular courses. The outer city walls seem restored and enlarged after the Roman conquest. On the east side, near the acropolis, are some fine foundations of the *cavea* of quite a large theater. The amphitheater, on the south side, was about 200 m. beyond the ancient walls and has been partly incorporated in the present city walls.

By far the most interesting bit of ancient architecture is what is popularly called the *Foro Boario,* on the east edge of the city. I am extremely puzzled to explain the stately row of colossal niches surmounted by a Doric frieze with shields, rosettes and other symbols and ornaments in the metopes. Did the niches serve as booths in the market? Did they belong to a sacred inclosure? In the dearth of works of pre-Augustan architecture with any decorative elements, this is a god-sent gift that has not been

taken at its true value, for it has all the earmarks of the pre-Sullan era. It might, in fact, be one of the prototypes for the decorative *motifs* of the Sullan reconstruction of the Praenestine temple. This market square was built on a steep hillside. Its niches are set in a high retaining wall and were surmounted by a second story, now almost destroyed, perhaps with a gallery, while on its lower end, facing the plain, it was itself terraced down.

There is another ancient city in Central Umbria which brings to us echoes of the generation before Augustus and of his earliest years which saw the death of many of the old cities and the resurrection of a few. It is Spello. Spello is now an insignificant town built within the walls of the Umbro-Roman city of Hispellum, not over three miles from Foligno on the road to Assisi, which is six miles further north. It was one of the important towns of Umbria but its later insignificance may have proved the salvation of certain features that we cannot find anywhere else.

It neither lies on the plain like Foligno, nor is set on the summit of a ridge like Assisi, but covers a low spur of the long sweeping hillside as it rolls up northward and eastward from the plain. This does not prevent its streets from being among the most precipitous in Umbria.

The theater and the amphitheater set off toward the northwest, outside the city walls, on the flats near the Assisi road, give the approximate measure of the city's size under the Empire. At one time it was practically the metropolis of Umbria, and had the honor of building a temple of the Gens Flavia. That the early municipality received a Roman colony in the time of the triumvirs, in 41 B.C., is extremely probable, though it may possibly have been established or renewed a few years later by Augustus. It was then called 'Colonia Julia Hispellum.' Then, if not before, the city walls and gates were built. Apparently no archaeologists have realized their age or interest. I found in them the link between the Etruscan and the Augustan gates: the prototypes of the Augustan type of both triple and single city gates such as we can study at Aosta, Turin, Pompeii, Fano, Salona, etc. Beside this, the walls and towers are the most artistically built of any in Italy. To judge merely from their style I should be inclined to date them earlier than the triumvirs.

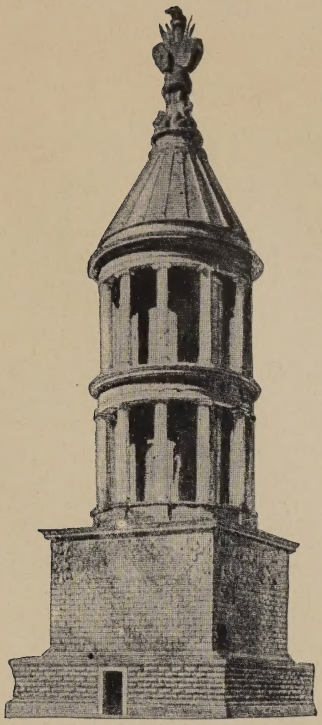
I found no trace of a colony arch, but should not be at all surprised if its foundations could be uncovered at some point between three and four hundred paces outside the Porta Consolare where the main ancient road entered the town.

On the other hand there does still exist a precious relic of the forum or capitoline arch with a fragment of the dedication to Augustus.

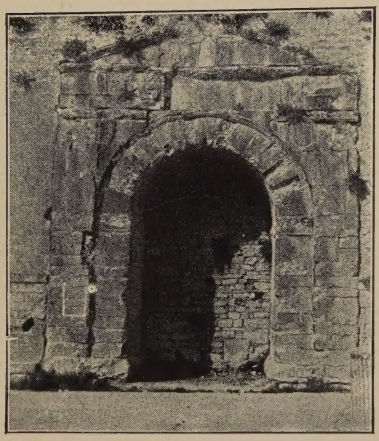
We enter the town from the station through the "Porta Consolare" which still retains almost intact its primitive façade and remains the principal modern gate. But it has been so thoroughly stripped of its marble revetment, and is buried so deep by the raising of the street level, and its upper part is so disfigured by the addition of medieval masonry, that its original proportions must be evoked by a restoration. Three antique statues of different periods are set against its upper part on brackets. It stood at the southeast angle of the ancient wall from which it seems to have projected slightly instead of being recessed and defended, as was the other triple gate of Porta Venere, by projecting polygonal towers.

In a way this is both the best and the worst preserved of the gates. It gives us their general scheme but it is shorn of every bit of decoration and memberment. The construction in travertine blocks is in fairly regular courses, but I found that this was not intended to be seen, but was entirely concealed by marble slabs which have been torn away, leaving the holes for the attachment visible.[1] It is not merely a façade

[1]The structure is 13 metres wide, with a central arcade of 4.45 met. and two side arches for foot passengers of only 1.70 met.



Trophy of Augustus at La Turbie
for Subjugation of Alpine Tribes
(Durm)



Spello, Small City Gate, probably
pre-Augustan

Plate

but part of a solid structure. Heavy side-walls still project nearly six metres back on the right to form an inside court which must have been terminated by another corresponding triple opening. On the walls of this court we can see even more clearly than on the outside walls the numerous holes for attaching the marble slabs. What this court was like is evident by comparison with the better preserved Porta Praetoria at Aosta, where we find the same technique of a core with course stone-work and a facing of marble slabs. At Aosta enough of the facing remains to show its style.

In fact at Spello itself there are two other gates through which we can reconstruct the architectural memberment of the Porta Consolare, aided by a drawing of the other triple gate, the "Porta Venere" made in the first half of the sixteenth century by the famous architect, Serlio, who saw it when it was almost intact. This gate must have been made even more spectacular by the eleven-sided towers that flanked it, rising to a considerable height even above the gallery of the gate. The three arcades were inclosed in a frame of four shallow pilasters which supported an entablature of a narrow two-stepped architrave and a plain frieze with heavy cornice. Above we can trace an arcaded (?) gallery which was con-

nected with the flanking towers whose windowed galleries were on a level with the gallery of the gate for defensive purposes. Serlio considered these Spello gates of such importance that he published cuts and descriptions of two of them in his classic work on architecture. I saw in the Uffizi his original drawings for these cuts.

The Porta S. Ventura remains in much better condition and though a perfectly simple single gateway, is interesting for the primitive character of its forms. It has the same memberment as the triple gates: a couple of corner pilasters supporting an architrave and frieze. But here the entablature is crowned not by an attic but by a gable, and the gable is free-standing, a type closer to the Greek than the Augustan gable, such as we find later at Rimini, in 28 B.C., where the gable is incorporated in an attic, so losing its fundamental terminal significance.

The section of the city wall between the Porta S. Ventura and the Porta Consolare is particularly perfect, and next to it that which stretches from it to the Porta Venere, all of it on the side facing the plain. I have not seen in Italy any ancient city walls that came so near to giving the impression of a work of art. They reminded me of the reference to the glistening walls of ancient Luna, whose marble quarries made it possible to

surround the city with such unique ramparts. Here at Spello the builders produced their artistic effect by the unusual use of both color and memberment. They ran a low base[1] of blocks of hard dark peperino all around the foundation, as the lower stratum or basement, letting it follow the natural irregularities of the ground at the base line, but running its upper edge on a perfectly horizontal line from gate to gate and crowning and framing it with a plain projecting plinth-like molding, formed of a single line of long narrow blocks. From this rises the main body of the wall, built in the lighter-colored, yellow-gray, fine-grained travertine, cut in small blocks with extremely clean-cut edges and faces in even courses, closely jointed and almost as smooth as marble. At a distance one gets the impression of a brick or tile wall. Neither at an earlier nor at a later period do I believe that such small stone-work was used; not until it again came into use, in careless form, in the age of decadence. At the towers of the Porta Venere where the work is the most perfect the stones are only from 20 to 35 cent. long by 15 cent. high.

Of course the special interest of these gates

[1] The use of a similar but more primitive form of basement line in the walls of Perugia, in the fourth century B.C. would be an argument in favor of a pre-Augustan date for the walls of Spello.

and walls centers about their date. Looking at it merely from the historic standpoint we know that it ceased to be regarded as necessary to fortify Italian cities after the early part of the reign of Augustus. It is true that a few cities date the completing of their walls later in his reign,—Saepinum, for instance, in 6 B.C.,—but these were exceptions. So, the presumption is in favor of a date earlier than 23 B.C. If so, then the date of the establishment of the Roman Colony here, in 41 B.C., would seem to give the approximate date, though we can easily believe that the Umbrian city had previously been fortified. But, the architectural and decorative peculiarities must be our surest guide. The most striking of these is the method used in constructing the arcades of the gates. The voussoirs are plain, unstepped stones and the moldings that frame them, instead of being cut on the voussoirs themselves, are made out of narrow curved strips of stone or marble that follow the outer curve of the voussoir blocks. This is the earlier method of the Etruscan builders followed in the gates of Perugia and Falerii in the fourth and third centuries B.C. It was replaced in the earliest years of Augustus by the stepped voussoirs with moldings. This element, therefore, would indicate a date previous to 41 B.C. Another pre-Augustan

element is the basement line, which we find in more primitive form in the walls of Perugia. On the other hand the stepped architrave, the plain frieze and the gable indicate a Hellenistic influence that smacks of the age of Sulla or Caesar.

We may conclude, then, that these Spello gates furnish the earliest known triple city gates, of which I have already mentioned the principal hitherto known examples. Those at Aosta are dated between 25 and 20 B.C. and cannot be earlier, as the city was then built. Nor is there any reason for dating any of the others before c. 25 B.C., while those of Turin are apparently later and that of Fano is dated 9 A.D. It is extremely interesting to be able to place the origin of this type of gate in the pre-Augustan age about which we know so little.

In this analysis I have omitted one of the gates of Spello, the small so-called "Porta Urbana" at the top of the hillside. Nothing remains but the circle of voussoirs and the walls about it are destroyed. But there is also another relic in even worse condition which is of far greater value than would appear. It is the remaining pier of an arch which stood in the central part of the old city, either across the entrance to the Forum or beside the Capitolium of the colony of 41 B.C. Set into this pier is a slab on which are a few

letters of large size:—R·DIVI·I. They were evidently part of a dedication of the arch to or by Augustus: *Caesar divi filius.*

Aquino

I shall now allow myself a slight license, in the form of an excursion outside of Umbria toward the south.

A visit to Aquino, the ancient Aquinum, in the northern part of Campania, rounds out one's conceptions of the architecture that ushers in the Augustan age, and joins the monuments of Umbria that we have been studying, to the Augustan works in Northern Italy and Dalmatia that are described later.

Aquinum stood at the junction of the ancient Via Latina with the road to Minturnae and the coast. It was originally a city of a type similar to the neighboring Latin and Volscian cities to the north. It then became an allied municipality and finally, in 41 B.C., it received a colony sent by the triumvirs. Marc Antony stopped here on his way south at this time, and it was prominent both as a city and fortress.

The site has scarcely been touched. A number of ruins are standing in plowed fields, as modern Aquino does not occupy exactly the area of the old city. There are the foundations of two temples, a theater and amphitheater and a num-

Arpinum, City Gate or Janus c. 41 B. C. or earlier

Arpinum, Colony Arch (half flooded) c. 41 B. C.

ber of tombs. It would be quite well worth excavating, for Aquinum was considered a not unimportant city in the age of Strabo and from its position must have partaken of the art both of Campania and Rome.

Quite a stretch of city-wall, in courses of regular travertine blocks, joins to so-called Porta S. Lorenzo which stands, in excellent preservation, across the modern road. It is a plain, impressive gate, but its value is even more historic than aesthetic. Delbrück calls it a "double gate of Servian type," which would imply an early date, preceding the Roman colony. With this inference I cannot agree, because its masonry is of a type common under the triumvirs. Even as late in the reign of Augustus as 6 B.C., the gates of Saepinum show the same treatment of voussoirs. At the same time its type is very archaic and interesting as giving us a model for reconstructing the pre-Augustan gates of Rome.

In both plan and vaulting this gate is unique for its age. It is almost square, with heavy walls and superstructure, the only surviving example of the Janus gates such as were used in Rome under the Kings and the Republic. The arched gate at Ferentino, much less well-preserved, and which I have already described, gives an earlier form of this type, when the passageway was still

uncovered. Similar open-court gates occur at Cosa and Volterra in Republican times. Here at Aquino the gate, though almost square, was not a Janus Quadrifrons, because it had but one passageway. It looked at first as if it were a free-standing structure, as there seemed to be no breaks in the stonework, but I found that the city wall joined the corner of the gate. A slight excavation would be needed to determine the extent and period of the connection.

The fact that the passageway leading through the core of the gate into the city is vaulted is most interesting. It has a massive cross-vaulting, 5.15 met. square, which springs from four piers surmounted by plain plinths above which a heavy ledge runs across the two façades, behind the voussoirs of the arch, helping to form the square plan for the vault.

The corner piers furnish narrow transverse arches and support the arêtes or ridges of the vaulting. I have enlarged upon this construction because it is of especial importance for the history of vaulting. Rivoira's epoch-making publication on the Roman origins of Byzantine and medieval architecture, has brought this question again to the front, and I venture to assert that this gate at Aquino is the earliest remaining instance of the cross-vault, the prototype of those in the Janus arches of the Forum Boarium in

Rome and of Saxa Rubra near Rome, built three or four centuries later!

At some distance beyond this gate is a beautiful arch which the common people have long insisted on calling Marc Antony's arch, "l'arco del re Marc Antonio." It is near the church of S. Maria Ottolina, on the edge of a field, and through its archway races a watercourse that runs a near-by mill. The artificial dykes of the watercourse conceal the lower half of the arch and dwarf its proportions, but nothing can obscure its charm. Though built of a fine-grained travertine it gives an impression of almost as great delicacy and refinement as if it were of marble. We instinctively bracket it with the Hellenistic temples of Rome, Cori and Palestrina, and this impression is strengthened by the use of the Ionic order with the Corinthian. Its position across the ancient highway outside the walls, its isolation and its form, combine to show that it is the Colony arch of Aquinum, built on the pomerium line of the new colony in about 41 B.C. If so it is the earliest extant of the so-called triumphal arches.

It is a strange fate that now sets it across a watercourse, which is gradually undermining its foundations. Its keystone has sagged,[1] and this

[1] Sig. Camillo Ricci, Director of Fine Arts in Italy, has twice, at my request, directed the local commission that cares for the

most charming and earliest of arches is in danger of collapse for the want of a very small sum. The upper structure has disappeared. The general order inclosing the arch is Corinthian, with corner shafts engaged in the masonry. But the minor order of shafts supporting the arcade is Ionic—the only use of this order with which I am acquainted in the field of memorial arches. It is, probably, due to Southern influence. Other pre-Augustan and early Augustan works either use the Corinthian or the Doric, or combine these two—a sign of Italic influence.

The extreme slenderness of the arch is a characteristic. It has no core, but is built throughout of wonderfully jointed blocks laid without cement. Of attic, cornice, architrave, frieze there is no trace. I seemed to recognize blocks from these missing parts in the walls of the adjoining mill and in the neighboring medieval church, where there were built in numerous decorative architectural members of antique workmanship. The famous Renaissance architects of the San Gallo family admired and drew this arch, and I find that in their time, at the close of the fifteenth century, it still had a two-stepped architrave resting on the Corinthian shafts, and was even then used for the watercourse!

monuments of this province, to have the watercourse changed and the arch strengthened. I do not know whether anything has been done.

VI

NORTHERN ITALY

Ariminum

We will now enter Northern Italy by way of northeast Umbria at Rimini. In early days this was in the northern part of Umbria, where the purity of the race was impaired by invaders. In the large Umbrian area extending from Ravenna down to the river Aesis above Ancona, was included the *Ager Gallicus,* occupied for a time by the Senonian Gauls, with Ravenna, Ariminum (Rimini), Pisaurum (Pesaro), Fanum (Fano), and Sena Gallica (Sinigallia) as important coast cities. It was reached from the heart of Umbria across the Scheggia Pass. At the top, on Monte Petrara, only eight miles from Iguvium, was the famous temple of Jupiter Apenninus, which even as late as imperial times remained the national oracle of the Umbrian race. And here we will take leave of the Umbrians and pass northward into the great plains of Emilia and Lombardy.

Rome had passed through Umbria in comet-like fashion in the first decade of the third century B.C., using it as a stepping-stone for the

occupation of the Adriatic coast—especially the *ager Picenus* and *ager Gallicus*. Already in 289, in founding the colony of Hatria (Atri), she celebrated the extension of her power from sea to sea, and by establishing that of Ariminum further up the coast in 268, she laid the foundation for her advance northward to the Po valley, the foothills of the Alps and the upper Adriatic.

Ariminum was the first Roman colony beyond the boundary of Italy, as it was then reckoned, and the peculiar rights granted to its inhabitants went by its name and were extended to the entire group of the twelve latest of the Latin colonies, It protected the main approach to Rome from the north, and became both the refuge and the starting-point of Roman arms by sea and land during the critical times of the Punic wars. In fact it was like an immense permanent camp and arsenal. In 220 it became the terminus of the great Flaminian Way, and soon after the starting-point for the military roads by which Rome cemented her conquest of the north.

We associate Rimini with the passing of the Rubicon in 49 B.C., after the Italian frontier had been pushed north of the city by Sulla. We are apt to hang Caesar's fortunes on this incident and to most readers of history Rimini means but little more. But if this city has not yet yielded

anything that takes us back to Republican times, she still possesses two works of the Augustan age that are among the best preserved and the most authentic, each with its historic inscription: the arch and the bridge.

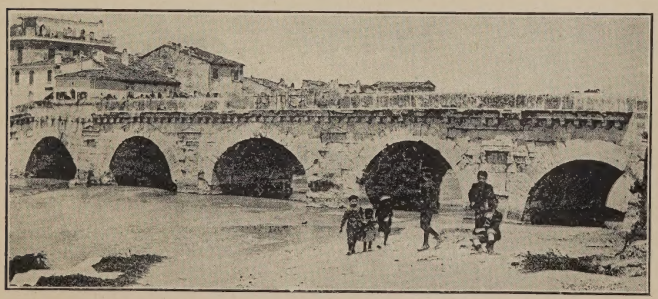
Before Augustus moved Italy's frontier line from the Rubicon to the river Formio, 189 miles north of Ravenna, so as to include Istria, and while Rimini was still the northernmost city in Italy, the arch was built. It was in 27 B.C., the very year of all others that was critical and historic in the evolution of the Augustan constitution, when the emperor announced the basis in which the Roman world was to be governed by himself and the Senate, to be modified later by the amendments of 23 B.C.

We are told by Suetonius and others how much stress Augustus laid almost immediately on the renovation of the highways, which had evidently been deteriorating during the *Sturm und Drang* period of the civil wars. Until the Italian highways were in splendid condition the Augustan schemes of expansion would be hampered. We are familiar with his keen expedient for hurrying this work by ordering prominent wealthy men to pay for and take charge of the work on the different highways. It was natural that it should be commemorated in an arch at Rimini

for the simple reason that the southern were not of as great importance to these schemes as the northern roads, and that Rimini was the official "jumping-off place" on the north at that time. So we read in the restored inscription that the Senate put it up as a thank offering to Augustus because of his great improvement of the various highways of Italy.

As a work of architecture it is simple and perhaps lacking in the qualities of a clearly conceived type. Evidently in 27 B.C. the scheme of the triumphal arch as a free-standing monument, while it may have been evolved and expressed elsewhere, was not yet current. This Rimini arch, while we have no proof that it was originally connected with the city wall, looks like a mere stretch of wall with an opening decorated with engaged columns, very similar to the lines of openings at the Tabularium in Rome or any other public structure in which the Greek design was plastered on a Roman constructive background. Still, with this proviso, it is a work of delicate and exquisite details, both in the purely decorative work and in the medallion heads of the four gods, probably Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and Neptune. In these medallions there seems to be an interesting echo of the heads with which the Etruscans of Perugia, Volterra and other

Rimini, Arch of Augustus



Rimini, Bridge of Augustus

Plate xxxv

cities decorated the spandrels of their city gates.

The arch stands on the southeastern edge of the city just back of the small stream Aprusa which bounded it along the whole front. The sea in ancient times hugged its northeast side, but is now nearly two kilometers distant. Only the southwest side was undefended by nature and must have been strongly fortified from the beginning by a wall of which we know but little.

The great stone bridge over the wide Ariminus, the modern Marecchia, was not begun by Augustus until he had moved the frontier of Italy to Istria and had completed his chain of northern and Alpine fortresses commanding the passes. It would have been a source of weakness to Rimini as a fortress, but now that the city could be considered merely as an inland town, commercial advantages could be made paramount. The bridge was commenced in 14 A.D. under Augustus and completed in 20 A.D. by Tiberius. Its five arches all measure 8.75 m. except that in the center (10.5 m.), and their low massiveness sounds the opposite aesthetic note in Augustan bridges to that of the lofty slenderness of Narni and Vulci. We are here in the flatter country, where the rivers are broader and slower and the changes of level neither so extreme nor so violent. The later date of this bridge carries with it a

more decorative design as compared to the Augustan bridges on the Flaminian Way below Rimini. The rich niches with their entablature and gable, the heavily corniced parapet with its closely-spaced corbels, mark a step even beyond the scheme of the bridge at Verona, which is almost as low and heavy.

Not the least interesting experience in a visit to Rimini is the very convincing way one can trace in a building of the early Renaissance the imitation of Roman design. In that most singularly charming and in so many ways original reconstruction of S. Francesco by Leon Battista Alberti, the triumphal arch is so clearly the basis of design as to make any discussion superfluous. Usually the imitation takes place in some other city and distance lends vagueness to one's realization of it. But here one has both model and copy. Not that Alberti was a plagiarist. We knew him as one of the three greatest architects of the early Renaissance; absolutely the leader of the scientific and literary coterie in the architectural revival. His letters show how careful his study of ancient monuments was and how he assimilated their principles as well as their style. For the rest, and regardless of any connection with Roman art, I will allow myself in a brief aside, to counsel every lover of the poignantly

beautiful, of the poesy of line and frozen motion, of emotional and hypnotic suggestiveness, not to miss the interior of S. Francesco. We may not wonder that it shocked even a Pope of the Renaissance into labeling it a pagan temple rather than a church, but the captivating witchery of its *insouciance* raises it far above the sensuous and wraps Isotta and Sigismondo Malatesta in a maze of exquisite sentiment.

Beyond Rimini are the plains of the north. A few dates show how they were opened up to Roman occupation. During the half century after 268 B.C. Rome busied herself with founding colonies and market-towns, distributing homesteads and transforming an inimical land into a faithful Roman province. This was done in the direction of the Po, the Alps and Dalmatia. Then in 225 B.C. the Gallo-Celtic invasion led Rome to decide on a permanent occupation of the Po valley. In 222 the Alps were reached; in 221 the Istrian coast line was guarded. In 218 the fortress-colonies of Placentia (Piacenza), on the right bank and of Cremona on the left bank of the Po were established to act as wedges between the Insubrian and Boian Gauls and to control the river communications. Still, it required over thirty years to complete the pacification of the region and make the building of the Via

Aemilia possible in 187 B.C. Then came the founding of Aquileia, above modern Venice, and the building of the Via Popilia to it along the Adriatic coast: while, on the Mediterranean the extermination of the Ligurians and the founding of Luna (177 B.C.) led to the extension of the Via Aurelia along that coast line. Finally, as center of this advance, and as a wedge driven into the Alps, up to the foot of the passes, Eporedia (Ivrea) was built in 100 B.C.

The very progressiveness of the people of northern Italy has helped to obliterate traces of this conquest and settlement during the third and second centuries. But the far greater magnificence of the Augustan age, which so thoroughly overshadowed earlier evidences of culture, is well represented. In fact it would be unreasonable to expect more. There was no such early civic evolution in the north as there had been in the center and south. If any student cares to ferret out the probable aspect of the pre-Roman towns he can visit the museum of Bologna and study the government reports on the excavations in the neighboring Etrusco-Italic town of Marzabotto. On this site itself nothing remains, I believe, to be studied.

We must imagine that the Augustan architects had almost a free hand in building up the

cities of the north, unhampered by previous settlements of monumental scheme. In studying what the Augustan age has left us in the North I shall start at the northwest end and swing around toward Dalmatia along the Alpine line. This makes Turin the first city to visit.

Turin and Susa

The *Taurini* were a tribe of Kelts from beyond the Alps who came to settle in the upper valley of the Po at the base of the Cottian Alps. They are said to have joined in the Keltic war of 225 against Rome, but to have sided with Rome against Hannibal when he invaded Italy in 218 after crossing the Alps and passing through their land. He is said to have spent three days in besieging the capital town of the tribe, which probably stood on the site of Turin, though no traces of it have been found.

We must suppose that the Keltic city was not surrounded by stone or brick ramparts but by palisades and ditch, after the fashion of the *terremare*. Its native name was Taurasia. It is not heard of again until Augustus sent there his colony, and made of it the northernmost city of Roman brickwork, as he also made Aosta the northernmost city of Roman stonework. It was a self-indicated site, at the intersection of two

rivers, on the great northern trade thoroughfare from east to west, between the two seas, and the national center of the west section of the Po valley, just where the great river begins to be navigable.

Turin was called from the emperor *Augusta Taurinorum* and became the center of a territory extending about one hundred and fifty kilometers from north to south and over a hundred kilometers from west to east, in a great arc whose southern base rested on the river Po and was bounded by the great Alpine curve. It was intersected by the sphere of Genua (Genoa) on the southwest, and by that of Ticinum (Padua), and Mediolanum (Milan), on the southeast. Even then there was a premonition of the economic rivalry which is fiercely raging in modern Italy, where Genoa and Milan are crowding out Turin!

At the left end of this radius, as we face the Alps, was the territory of the tribe of the Vagienni, reaching to the Maritime Alps and the Riviera. Quite recently their capital city, Augusta Bagiennorum, has been excavated at Bene Vagienna. The Augustan plan was partly uncovered with some imposing fortified double gates, with round flanking towers, similar to those of Turin, showing that it also was a fortress.

Turin, Porta Palatina, City Gate of Augusta Taurinorum
(age of Augustus)

It is not easy to remember that Turin, most modern and modern-looking of large Italian cities, owes its aspect to its faithfulness to Roman antiquity; and that under the present streets in the core of the town, at a level of between only one and two meters under the pavement, the sewers and pavements, the house-walls, and even the cellars of the city of Augustus are so well preserved that they prove just how closely the lines of the old Roman streets have been followed. In fact, the city kept within its ancient limits and was surrounded by its Augustan brick walls with its colossal gateways until the sudden expansion of the seventeenth century led to their destruction. Before then, in 1536, the French had destroyed the west gate, or *Porta Marmorea,* probably the principal entrance to the Roman city, as well as the amphitheater which was not far beyond it, in the usual relation to the city walls.

We can trace its limits in the heart of the modern city, in the west at the Via del Consolato; on the south at the Via S. Teresa; on the east at the Piazza Castello and Piazza Carignano, and on the north at the Via Giulis. The great thoroughfare of the Corso Garibaldi follows the exact course of the ancient *decumanus* street.

The plan of the Roman colony was almost

exactly the "classic" norm of camp and city given by the well-known gromatic writer Hyginus. He describes the ideal plan as 2,400 feet long and two-thirds of this (1,600 feet) wide. Any greater length, he said, endangered defensive operations, as signals and alarms could not be as distinctly heard. Turin fulfils exactly the length measurement and if its width was greater than the normal (2,220 feet in place of 1,600 feet), this was not important; it was only here that it surpassed Aosta in size. Apparently the city fluctuated but little in the course of imperial history, and we may conjecture that its time of greatest importance was under its founder, Augustus, and before the surge of the Roman advance had passed permanently northward. Together with Susa it guarded the main commercial road to Arles (Arelate) and the rest of the *Provincia* of Southern Gaul (Provence).

In the office of the Regional Department for the Preservation of Monuments, in the ducal Palazzo Madama, there hangs a plan of the ancient city to which every now and then some detail is added, as bits of the old streets are casually found, and which ought to be published without delay in its present form, as few archaeologists, even, are aware of its existence and depend on what Promis gives in his superb but

slightly antiquated book of 1869. It is true that a comparatively small subsidy would enable the department practically to complete the plan, but the Government seems unable to furnish it. My special interest lay in the study of the Roman gates and in the place held by Turin under Augustus as one of the keys to Italy.

By a curious coincidence one can pass directly from the office of the Department of Ancient Monuments at Turin, by narrow subterranean stairs and passages, among the sub-structures of the medieval Palazzo Madama, to the considerable remains of the principal gateway of the Augustan city, the Porta Praetoria, over and around which the mediaeval dukes of Savoy built their castle and palace. It can be studied to a height of about six feet. It has four openings, two large central arcades for incoming and outgoing vehicles, flanked by two narrow passages for foot-passengers, corresponding to the sidewalks. All four of the Roman gates, one on each side of the city, were of the same style and size; and all, like the walls, faced with brickwork. The plan was of the usual Augustan type, even deeper than wide, with a central court and two huge flanking towers.

How deep the court was in the Turin gates has not yet been exactly determined, but it can be

as soon as the Government provides the funds for completing the restoration and uncovering of the so-called Palazzo delle Torri, or Porta Palatina, the ancient Porta Principalis Sinistra of Roman Turin, which was also turned into a fortress in the Middle Ages. On its outer face this colossal gateway, with its high sixteen-sided towers and double-arched gallery, is the only one of the four to remain in almost perfect preservation, so perfect that its Augustan date was not until quite recently admitted. Since 1905 it has been in process of restoration—the mediaeval battlements removed, the windows and galleries opened up, the ancient level, two meters below the street, laid bare, and the later constructions attached to the face removed. If the ancient foundations and walls in the rear should be wholly uncovered—which the Government has not yet provided the funds to do—the plan of the fortress-like structure would be evident. Already we may conjecture it to be similar to the well-preserved Augustan gate at Nîmes, which also has four openings and a central court, though the Turin gate is on a larger scale, for its width with the towers exceeds 100 feet (36 meters). The unique preservation of the flanking towers helps to give us something of the original stateliness, when it was connected with

the long stretch of city walls in the same colossal proportions. It makes one think of the Porta Nigra at Trier in its arrangement, though not in its material; at Trier it is bossed stonework. The two other city gates have disappeared, but they have been located and part of their foundations examined. That on the west was called in the Middle Ages "Porta Marmorea," perhaps owing to a marble facing which originally covered the lower part of the brickwork of these gates, but may have long previously been torn away from the others.

To none of them, however, does the design seem to provide a place for sculptured decoration in relief, so that I was led to attribute to some unknown and destroyed arch the sculptured frieze of arms and armor and some fragments of military scenes in the museum, and perhaps also a fine fragment of a praetorian soldier and a horse now in the office of the Direzione,—though I confess that the style of the latter is less Augustan than Trajanic. I am much tempted to conjure up, as having once borne these sculptures, the Colony Arch of the Augustan Turin, which, if my reckoning holds good, must have stood at a short distance outside the principal city gate (Porta Praetoria) across the highway as it turns to approach the river. I may be al-

lowed to refer here to the theory which I laid before the International Archaeological Congress of 1905 at Athens, which has been quite commonly accepted, French archaeologists having tested its accuracy in connection with the numerous African arches. This theory is that when a Roman colony was founded it was the general custom to build an arch across the main approach, on the sacred boundary line or *pomerium*. This arch usually received an inscription stating the name of the city, its municipal status, the time and sometimes the circumstances of its foundation. It was, in fact, the monumental emblem of the city, and marked it as part of the Roman domain. It corresponded to the triumphal arches in Rome.

We shall find such colony or municipal arches in the other Augustan cities of this northern and Alpine region, at Verona, Aosta and Susa. It certainly must have existed at Turin. Where did it stand? At Aosta it was placed 366 yards outside the city gate, and as the Roman Turin was of exactly the same length (2440 feet), as Aosta, we may place its arch at about the same distance in front of the walls, probably outside of the gate under the Palazzo Madama, along the line of the Roman road near the present Via della Zecca. The frieze of arms and armor

which I am inclined to attribute to it,—now in the museum,—is of a type quite similar to that of the colony arch at Pola, in Istria, and to that of the colony arch of S. Rémy in southern France, both of which belong to the early part of the reign of Augustus, which is also the date of the Turin arch.

How can we venture to date the foundation of Turin so exactly? The form of its official title gives the clue: "Colonia Julia Augusta Taurinorum." There is some dispute as to the use of the term "Julia," whether all colonies were so-called because established under the Lex Julia or by or in memory of Julius Caesar. Some of those established by Caesar in Gaul were called "Colonia Julia Paterna."[1] The colonies established by the triumvirs after his death were called simply "Colonia Julia," and when the name "Pietas Julia"[2] occurs, shortly after the assassination, it would seem as if a connection with his memory were intended. As soon as in 27 B.C. Octavian assumed the title "Augustus," the new colonies were called "Augusta," and where the two titles are combined, as here in Turin, at Capua, Beneventum, and Parma, it has been

[1] For example, Narbo and Arelate.

[2] E.g., Pola in Istria: "Colonia Pietas Iulia Pola."

suggested that this would make Caesar its first and Augustus its second founder.[1]

The best explanation seems to me that the coupling of *Julia* with *Augusta* was dropped as soon as colonies ceased to be founded on the authority of the Lex Julia, probably in 23 B.C.

But are there historic reasons for placing Turin so much earlier in the reign of Augustus than is commonly thought? I believe there are. The explanation is the more interesting as it involves the scheme of Augustus for the combined defense of Italy from northern invasion, and for the invasion and conquest of northern Europe, by opening up the roads across the Alps. We have seen that, curiously enough, while Rome was conquering the world she was by no means safe in her own peninsula. The entire arc of the Alpine ranges from the Riviera to the crest of the Adriatic was still in the possession of unsubdued warlike tribes, and all the great Alpine passes were open to invaders from northern Europe, who could descend into the plains of Piedmont, Lombardy, and Venetia. Settled and advanced culture was impossible where free-

[1] It is possible that another solution would cover such cases: that the decree establishing the colony antedated 27, and so was under the Lex Julia, while the actual sending or *deductio* of the colony was in 27 or later. It is known that in several cases one, two or more years elapsed between the two stages.

looters had full sway. Worse yet, military communications with Gaul and Germany were insecure except in case of a large force, and depended on the friendship of local chieftains, such as that of Donnus, King of the Cottian Alps, whose friendship for Julius Caesar had made the passage to Gaul across the Mont Genèvre possible.

As soon as Augustus had restored normal conditions, after the defeat and death of Marc Antony, and had become sole master of the Roman world, he planned to put an end to this intolerable condition, and at the same time to create a base in Italy for the conquest of Germany and the Danubian lands, so as to make of the River Danube the northern boundary of the empire, a plan which he was soon to intrust to the generals of his family, Drusus and Tiberius. For this he needed to control all the Alpine passes; and it is the details of this scheme, and the monuments that still record it, that I have been studying at Turin and all along the line. How successful it finally was, after years of minute, inglorious and wearing strategy, far more difficult than that of the Boer war, is commemorated in the famous Augustan Trophy, which the French are finally laying bare at the present moment, at La Turbie, near Nice. This towering pile, overlooking the main Roman

causeway which leads along the Riviera to Gaul and Spain, gives the names of forty-six Alpine tribes, from Mediterranean to Adriatic, whom Augustus had conquered. It was built in 7-6 B.C., after the last insurrection had been quenched. Before this there had been several wars at various points, principally in 14 and 13 B.C., but going back to the earliest years of Augustus.

I believe that the general plan of Augustus, which was carried out mainly during the fourteen years between 28 and 15 B.C., was to establish separate groups of two fortified cities in connection with each of the main Alpine passes: a smaller city at the head of the narrow valley that led to the pass on the Italian side; and a larger city opposite the lower end of this valley, where it opened out into the great Italian plain. Not until 15 B.C. did the Augustan troops, under Drusus, begin to occupy the slopes and valleys beyond the passes. Setting aside for the moment the insignificant passages of the Maritime Alps, which, in any case, were not of the same strategic interest, because the Gallic lands beyond them were already Roman, the first great passes as one moves from west to east along the Alpine range are those over the Mt. Genèvre and the Mt. Cenis. Toward them a single road

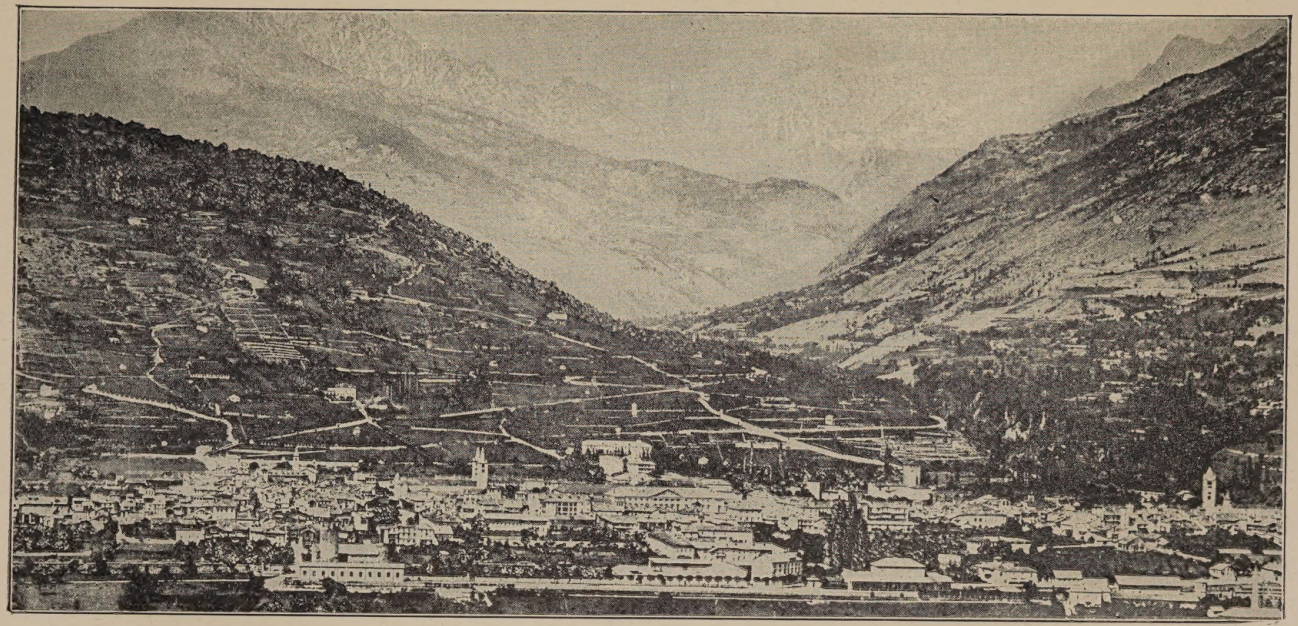
ascends from the Italian plain along the narrow valley through which the Dora Riparia flows until it reaches the site of Susa. At this point it forks: the left road passes over the Mt. Genèvre through what was the most important of the passes in Republican times, while the right road traverses the Mt. Cenis. It was Pompey who first considered this important and made use of it.

As Susa commanded both, it was very strongly fortified, and was called *Italiae Claustrum.* Politically speaking, its condition was anomalous, and was expressed by what I shall call the Colony Arch of Susa, though Susa was not a colony, but the chief city of a federation of tribes who were allowed considerable autonomy under Cottius, the son of Donnus, Caesar's friend, who was at the same time king of these tribes, and their governor (prefect) on behalf of Rome. This federation, to which Roman municipal rights were conceded, was unique among the whole galaxy of Alpine tribes in its friendship for Rome, the only group not conquered by force of arms; and its recompense for willingness to enter into the Roman scheme was this recognition of autonomy, resembling, but somewhat more real than, the treatment by which the English perpetuated in India some of the native principalities.

The scene enacted, when at a solemn sacrifice these tribes took the oath of fealty to Rome and Augustus, is represented on the frieze of the Arch of Susa, and its inscription enumerates the tribes that formed the confederacy. A representative of each of the tribes is depicted as advancing to have his adhesion noted in the official document by the Roman official. To their chieftain, Julius Cottius, the Emperor intrusted the building and policing of the great pass-roads, and the entire region was named, after him, the Cottian Alps. He was even given by Claudius the title of King and his district enlarged and placed in the class of allied states. Not until Cottius' death under Nero was the region reannexed as a province and became an integral part of the empire.

The arch itself, memorial of this treaty, and in this way a unique monument, is a charming anomaly.

In design it is exquisite, with a spring and a delicacy that place it in the front rank, notwithstanding its simplicity. It produces almost the opposite aesthetic effect to that of the majestic, heavy arch of Aosta, which is to be described later. Its single, slender arcade, almost snowy white, has an ethereal brilliancy in this mountain solitude. It is more fortunate than the arch of



Aosta, general view, with the Alps and passes. (Mt. Blanc on left, Grand Combin in center, Monte Cervino and Monte Rosa on right)

Aosta in preserving the traces of its inscription giving the list of the tribes under the jurisdiction of Cottius who joined in his adhesion to Rome. This list of Alpine tribes is interesting to compare with the almost contemporary list of Alpine tribes given in the Augustan trophy of La Turbie, on the Riviera, where the tribes are those who fought and were subdued, not those who peacefully submitted. The arch originally supported some statuary, in groups and single figures. It is conjectured that some fine Augustan statues—one of Drusus, perhaps—found near it and taken to Turin, may have belonged to them.

There is a surprising contradiction between the charm of the proportions and design and the crudity of the decorative work. The figures on the frieze are positively hideous in their doll-like malformation and lifelessness. One naturally thinks of similar puppets of stone and ivory carved by the post-Carlovingian craftsmen of the darkest century. There is an easy explanation. We know that it was the custom to do all the decorative work after the monument was erected, and in this case the design of a good Roman architect was perverted by the unskilled hands of some native carver, either the best local talent or brought across the Alpine passes from Gaul.

Near the arch are two arcades—one wider than the other,—of plain masonry. They seem to me to have formed part of the fortifications; to be perhaps a gate in the Augustan walls, because the larger entrance for vehicles and the smaller one for pedestrians, was a peculiar arrangement which we find at Pompeii, but not later than Augustus. Another gate, quite imposing, with its round towers, belonged to the mediaeval walls.

Susa, therefore, was the Roman bulwark at the head of the valley. If we then pass down the old highway a distance of forty miles we reach the point where the Dora Riparia runs into the Po. Here, at the entrance of the great plain, we find the second unit in the duet, Turin, Colonia Julia Augusta Taurinorum, a great bulwark in case by any chance Susa should have been captured or boxed up; and also a base of supplies and military camp, colonized by veterans, from the legions disbanded when the close of the civil war made a reduction in the army necessary. The close relations between the two cities—Susa and Turin—at the beginning of their history, were proved very recently by the discovery in Turin of part of a large inscription from some public monument of the Augustan Turin, actually dedicated by Cottius himself, the

prefect-king of the Cottian Alps, and by another member of his family.

This was but the westernmost unit in the scheme of Augustus for defensive and offensive operations in the north. The next, both geographically and historically, is the group Aosta (Augusta Praetoria)—Ivrea (Eporedia).

Aosta

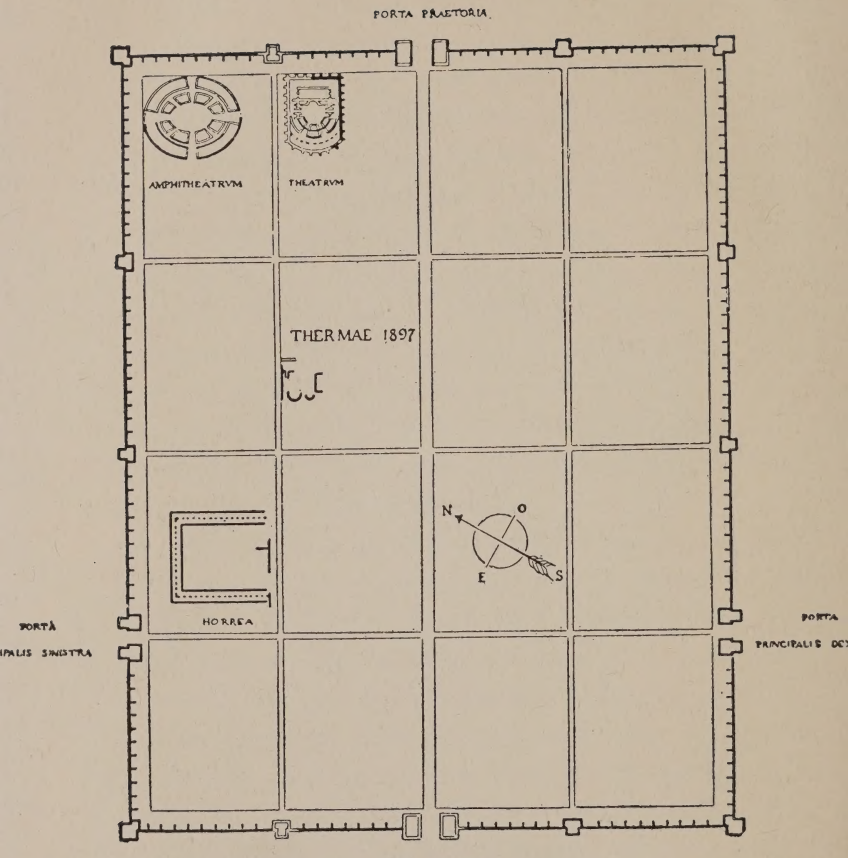
There are few more fascinating valleys in Europe than the Val d'Aosta, the scene of the second stage in the game of strategy which Augustus was playing to bring peace to Northern Italy and to bind it to Transalpine lands, still recorded here in architectural works equaled by few in Italy north of Rome. Visiting this valley in midwinter for the first time, I expected to find it bleak and forbidding, leading up as it does to the very base of Mt. Blanc and Monte Rosa, but in the clear, still, and expanding atmosphere I could understand the apparent anomaly of the semi-tropical vegetation of the entire vine-clad valley, with its palms, its cacti, *fichi d'India,* rhododendrons, and so many of the same flowers that grow on the Riviera.

The Val d'Aosta stretches northwest for some sixty miles from the opening of the great Po valley at Ivrea, on either side of the river Dora

Baltea. Even more than the Val di Susa above Turin does it give the impression of a long artery, often not two miles wide, leading into the very heart of the Alps. In the latter days of the Republic the valley was in the possession of the powerful and turbulent Salassi, a Celtic tribe that commanded both of the passes bifurcating from the little amphitheater where Aosta now stands: to the left the Little St. Bernard pass across the Graian Alps, and to the right the Great St. Bernard over the Pennine Alps. The Cromlech on the Little St. Bernard is the most spectacular record of the tribe, and proof of their racial and religious affinities.

The Romans of the Republic had no use for either of these passes, and merely founded, in 100 B.C., the city of Eporedia (modern Ivrea), at the base of the mountain valley, to coerce the Salassi and prevent their raids on the great plain, after they had been, since the war over the gold mines in 143 B.C., driven further and further up into the mountains. It also was the starting-point for a pre-Augustan control of the passes of the Graian Alps, used, for instance, by Julius Caesar.

That this remedy was hardly effectual, more than one punitive expedition attests. In any case it was not sufficient for Augustus, with his



Aosta, ground-plan of Augusta Praetoria (c. 25-20 B. C.)

Plate xxxviii

scheme to use the passes for his dreams of northern conquest and to communicate with the newly organized regions of Gaul above Provence. The special value of the Little St. Bernard was that it led, by the region of the Upper Isère and the Rhone, to Lyons, which Augustus made the administrative center for all Gaul and which he aimed to develop into the greatest Roman city in the west outside of Italy. By the same pass the region of the Rhine could be reached somewhat circuitously. It had been, always, the main route of the Celtic tribes into Italy. Soon also, in conjunction with the Brenner pass, further east, the Great St. Bernard was to be, not a source of danger to Italy, but a main artery of military communication in connection with the conquest of Rhaetia and Noricum; for it led to the region of the Rhone, Lake Constance, the Aar valley, and the Rhine; and it was to serve the plans of the campaigns of Drusus in the north. Briefly, Aosta controlled the finest lines of communication between Italy, France and Germany.

In the Val di Susa and its Alpine passes the problem of Augustus had been simplified through the friendship for Rome of its confederated tribes under King Donnus, and his son Cottius. But in the Val d'Aosta, the more homogeneous

and powerful Salassi were inveterate enemies; and so soon as Augustus had made the commercial route of Susa, further west, a part of the Roman network, he undertook, toward 25 B.C., their permanent subjugation. While he himself went to Spain and Gaul, he intrusted this minor but difficult affair to Terentius Varro Murena, who resorted to a sort of Cuban *reconcentrado* policy, which enabled him to substitute a loyal population.

It seems, in fact, a mistake to suppose, as even Mommsen has done, that Varro fought a pitched battle with the Salassi; rather, he left the lower end of the valley guarded, and worked his way up carefully to the summit until he reached the spot where Aosta now stands, where he established his camp. With the whole valley at his mercy and escape impossible, he organized a man-hunt. The Salassi, as was the custom with the Keltic tribes, lived in small open villages, in a loose cantonal union, and were practically defenseless. With a loss of less than two thousand killed of the Salassi, he corralled nearly 40,000 men, women, and children, took them to Eporedia and sold them all into slavery at public auction.

On the site of his camp Varro then founded a Roman colony, *Augusta Praetoria Salassorum;*

a city modeled strictly on the plan of a permanent camp, and, like Turin, built as a fortress. It was named after the Emperor and the 3,000 veterans of the Praetorian guard who were assigned to it with their families. Some of the native Salassi came in to join the colony and were spared. The soldiers themselves built it. Placed at the upper end of the narrow valley where it widens out into a flat plateau before coming to an abrupt end, the city faces a pocket in the mountain range where it slopes down from the passes in a gently-curving hemicycle, and it is protected by two streams.

Only recently an inscription found near the west gate flatly disproves Strabo's generally accepted statement that the Salassi were completely wiped out. It is a dedication to Augustus in 23 B.C. of a statue (?) by "the Salassi who had joined the colony from its beginning." Local archaeologists are mistaken in supposing the inscription to belong to the gate. Not only does its vertical shape disprove this, but the fact that this is a *private* dedication by a group of the inhabitants, whereas city gates cannot be dedicated except *publicly* by the whole city or the highest authorities. Therefore, before 23 B.C., the city of Aosta, with its walls, gates, and public monuments, must have been practically com-

pleted. Immediately below it the streams Dora and Buthier meet, in front of the famous "triumphal" arch forming the protection of the *pomerium* line of the city. It was a common Roman custom to take a natural boundary, whether for city, colonial territory or province. In this case the Buthier guarded the west and the Dora the south side.

A few of the initiated know that Aosta is one of the best preserved Roman fortified cities in the world. It is a rectangle of the length of 2,440 feet, the normal maximum length of a Roman camp-city, according to Hyginus; its width is about 1,920 feet, which is wider than his norm (1,600 feet), but narrower than Turin. Its principal gateway, the Porta Praetoria, faces toward Rome; and in front of it, at a distance of 366 meters, stands the Colony Arch of the city.

This arch is on the sacred *pomerium* line that encircled the walls at that distance, marking the *octroi* line, the boundary between country and city jurisdiction. The line was originally marked by a trench dug by the consecrating priest with his sacred plow and oxen, as soon as the ceremonies by which the center and bounds of the new colony were determined had been concluded. No serious attempt has yet been made by scholars to determine the width of the sacred strip of

land between walls and outer *pomerium,* within which it was forbidden to build. If I am right in placing the "triumphal" colony arches on this outer line, it will now be possible to determine this point in many cases, at Verona, for instance, at Gerasa in Syria, Thamugadi in North Africa, S. Remy in Gaul, and Telmessos in Asia-Minor —to mention merely typical examples in different provinces of the Empire.

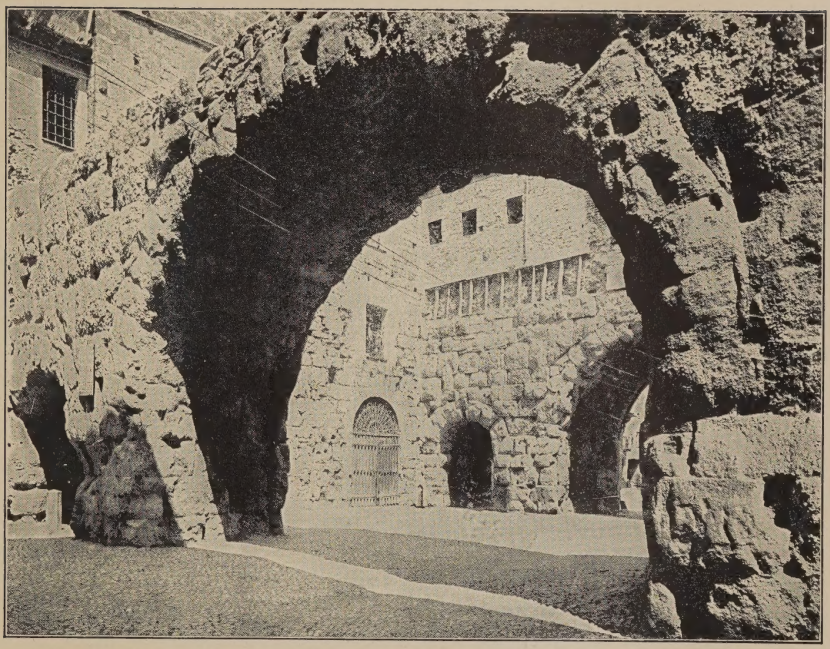
The Aosta arch stands directly in front of the superb Augustan bridge across the Buthier. Even though the original level of the arch is some two meters below the modern road, and though it is shorn of all its upper section above the triglyphal frieze, the structure as it stands is, next to that of Orange in southern France, the most impressive of all Roman memorial arches. This is due not merely to its immense bulk, but to the perfection of its simple outlines and proportions, nothwithstanding the fact that, unlike Orange, it is quite without decoration. It is not a structure with a core of brick or of roughly hewn blocks faced with marble, but is built throughout of carefully squared blocks of a sort of pudding-stone, quarried near the city above the banks of the Dora.

Besides the arch and the bridge, Aosta has the Porta Praetoria, the great stretch of encircling

Augustan wall, with its towers, the ruins of the theater, of the amphitheater, the *thermae* or baths, the military granary, scanty remains of temples, and the many fragments of the Roman drains, streets, and houses. Near it is an unusual series of bridges, including the unique *Pondel,* with its double covered passage.

One of the most unusual things about all these constructions is that they were all,—with the exception, perhaps, of the amphitheater,—built at one time, when the city was founded: all in one style, with similar materials, according to a preconceived plan. We find something approaching this unity in the frontier cities of Syria and Africa, also built by the military engineers and workmen belonging to the legions, but these other instances are all of later date and supplemented by subsequent growth of population. Here at Aosta, in the quiet mountain silences, far from any causes for expansion, the city stayed as it was first built and before long the causes that led to its foundation were forgotten, until the latter days of the Empire when once more, after four centuries, the northern hordes harried Italy from across the Alps.

What is quite recent is the discovery of the existence of two lateral gates. Until this discovery it had been supposed that, contrary to



Aosta, Porta Praetoria, and its Court

general usage, Aosta had but two gates, at each end of the main thoroughfare, the *decumanus maximus*. One of these is the gate now standing, not far from the arch; the other, the Porta Decumana (west), still existed until 1808, when it was demolished. It opened out toward the Little St. Bernard. In the other two sides (north and south) of the rectangle at each end of the *cardo*, the main artery that intersected the *decumanus*, the two customary gates had not been traced, and this defect was explained on the supposition that when Aosta was built there was only the pass of the Little St. Bernard to consider, so that no gate was required in the north wall. Even Mommsen was misled into this fallacy, which is quite obvious as soon as we understand that what Augustus had in mind in the subjugation of the Salassi was precisely, in great part, the opening up of the Great St. Bernard in connection with his proposed conquest of Rhaetia and Vindelicia.

The remains of the north and south gates have now been discovered, so that Aosta, like Turin, had four gates, but unlike Turin they varied in size, those on these minor faces having but a single archway, while the principal gates had three openings. This plan harmonized with the regular Augustan norm which gave a width of forty feet to the *decumanus*

street and only twenty feet to the *cardo* street.

Of the new gates, only the *Porta Principalis dextra* on the south side is comparatively well preserved up to a certain height. I was not able to visit its foundations, which were found at a considerable depth below the present level, nor the little museum in the neighboring ancient tower, because the keys were, I was told, in Turin. Nobody wanted them in Aosta, it seemed, because the local inspector of antiquities had quarreled with the Direzione in Turin, and the Aostan worthies who had been offered the keys had all declined for fear of offending this inspector, whose influence was as strong as his temper was violent! Hence, I had to study the inscription supposed to belong to this gate in a cast at Turin, later on.

The walls, if restored with the battlements that originally crowned them, were considerably over 10 m. high. They were formed of a core of rubble faced with an *emplecton* of small blocks of calcareous tufa, and defended by six square towers on each side.

The Porta Praetoria is in its way as impressive as the Colony Arch, and, besides, it is unique in the perfection with which it preserves the plan of the Augustan military gateways. Like the rest of the gates and the walls, it is built, not of

bricks like Turin, but of large blocks of stone. These are not very carefully finished because they were originally faced not only with thin stone blocks but with a still thinner marble revetment in which the archivolt moldings, cornices and other architectural details were cut. The flanking towers are not polygonal, as at Turin, but square, and project boldly both within and beyond the walls. Both inner and outer façades of the gateway remain nearly intact, inclosing the large central court, where, if the enemy should penetrate, he could be attacked on all sides by the garrison. It does not produce its full effect, because the present street is two meters above the old level, and also because the gate has lost its upper story and its battlements, as well as most of the artistic facing with its architectural moldings. But it still is almost oppressive in its impression of force and bulk. A restoration taken from Promis' *Antichità di Aosta* is in the main based on existing remains, except for the two reliefs which I consider improbable as well as decidedly out of place in the design.

The arrangement of the walls for defensive purposes is interesting. They are not very heavy, being only eight feet thick at the base and six feet at the summit. The diminution is obtained, not as in imperial times by a raking line

but by rebates. This narrowness of the walls would give a width of only four feet at the top for the *chemin de ronde* to be used by the garrison in the defense, if we deduct the two feet of parapet and battlements. But this was overcome by running out at intervals of about forty feet heavy buttresses which not only served to strengthen the wall but to support a continuous internal wooden platform ten feet wide, which gave a total width of fourteen feet to the *chemin de ronde*. It was reached by stairways in the various towers. Of these towers the best-preserved is the one on the south side now called *Tour de Pailleron*.

The internal arrangement of the Augustan city is made quite certain by the lines of original under-drainage which have been discovered. These divided the city into sixteen large rectangular sections or *insulae* of almost equal size by four streets beside the two principal avenues: the *decumanus* street, east-west, and the *cardo* street, north-south.

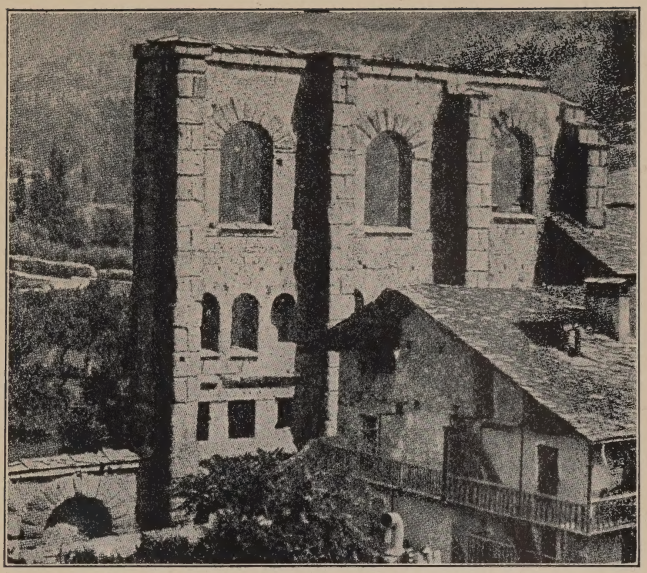
The theater, not far from the Porta Praetoria and in the same region as the amphitheater, is of most remarkable form, for its extremities on both sides, instead of completing the regular curve, are cut abruptly by the rectangular lines of the streets on either side. The builders were

evidently not allowed to spoil the symmetry of the town by breaking the continuity of one of the main arteries. Only the three inner rows of the hemicycle of sets are complete, while the two outer rows are cut. Promis compares this arrangement with that of the theaters of Industria, of Pompeii (smaller), and of Amemurium in Cilicia. The reason for this inartistic arrangement at Aosta is quite evident. In a purely military city such as this, where the extent was determined entirely by strategic reasons, there had to be absolute economy of space. It is interesting to see how the architect tried to make the best of the adverse circumstances. There was also a structural reason, as I will explain.

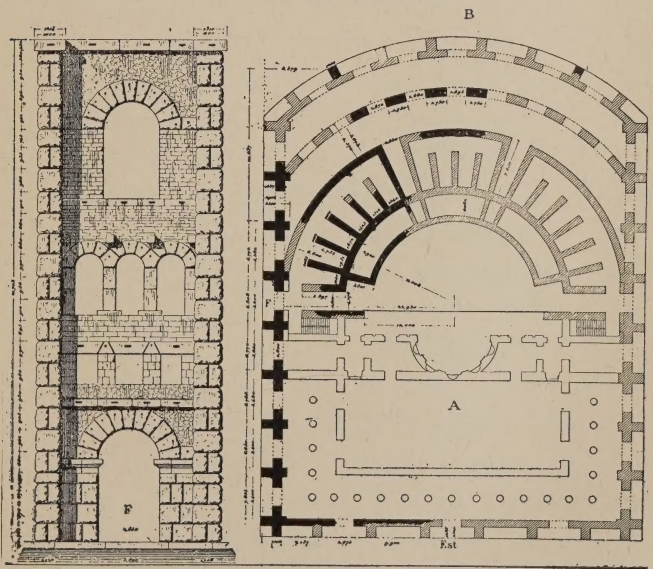
Of the outer façade about a quarter remains on the south side, rising to a considerable height in primitive simplicity and strength. Its height is twenty-two meters. There are very few ruined Roman theaters in the west so imposing and few that are as early, for it is contemporary with the theaters of Balbus and Marcellus in Rome, and in point of style is earlier. In fact it is the only example of the purely Roman composition before the introduction of the Hellenic false architrave and engaged shafts as the decorative framework for the arcades. Here the arcades

appear in all their bareness, as they do in the purely structural bridges, viaducts and aqueducts. This theater at Aosta is really the finest example of the traditional style of the Roman engineer such as must have been used in the gates and basilicas of Rome in the Republican age before the time of the Tabularium or whatever other civil structure first embodied this union of Greek and Roman forms. The elevation of the theater shows four stories, three arched and the lowest flat-topped. Its structure has a common combination of the late Republic: the *opus quadratum* of the heavy piers, archivolts and buttresses is of heavy squared blocks of the same local pudding-stone as the colony arch; while the core and foundations are of irregular tufa scales, the *opus incertum* is of the broken river pebbles and the small and carefully tooled blocks that form the bulk of the facing are of calcareous tufa, not very different from the structure of the walls of Spello, of the age of the triumvirs.

The most striking feature is, however, the great buttresses of large slightly bossed blocks which divide each main bay of the theater façade from top to bottom and give picturesqueness and vigor to the outlines of the façade which would otherwise seem somewhat flat. They make one forget to miss the superposed Doric, Ionic and



Aosta, Theater: end wall



Aosta, Theater: plan and elevation (Promis)

Plate XL

Corinthian orders of decoration, which decorate the usual imperial theater and amphitheater. It is not that the builders were ignorant, because they used the decorative orders in the amphitheater and in the Porta Praetoria.

The reason for these buttresses and for certain other peculiarities, especially the triple row of windows and the inclosed portico behind the *scena,* is that we have here the rare form of the covered theater, the *theatrum tectum.* In a few cases, as at Pompeii, a small covered theater was built to supplement the usual larger uncovered theater. Here at Aosta, with its severe northern climate, the covered theater was adopted absolutely. So, while the façade of the Pompeian example measures but twenty-seven meters, this at Aosta is nearly double, with its forty-eight meters. I can cite another example of covered theater, that of Lillebonne in France, the Roman Liliobona. The plan is an almost exact counterpart of Aosta. After comparing the grandiose effectiveness of the Aosta façade with Brunelleschi's splendid rusticated façade of the Pitti palace, Durm suggests that Aosta may have given to modern architects the scheme for some of the most impressive recent theaters, especially in Germany, at Munich, Vienna and Bayreuth! At all events we can well afford to give the Aosta theater a second look!

The Baths or *thermae* are of comparatively recent discovery and seem to have been restored in the time of Marcus Aurelius. Three semicircular exedrae and part of the main façade remain, and traces of a rectangular court surrounded by dressing-rooms.

Of the amphitheater the ruins are in such poor condition that it is interesting mainly for its great antiquity, antedating, as it probably does, the Coliseum, the amphitheaters of Capua, Verona, Pola and the rest. Its constructive methods, with their use of the Republican *opus incertum,* with the bossing of the stone-work which went out of fashion with Claudius, shows this early date quite plainly. Also its position inside the walls is unusual and due to the purely military character of the city. In most cases amphitheaters were placed at a short distance outside the walls or city limits, by the main highway.

Perhaps the most characteristic building of all is one that has left most of its traces underground. It was considered by Promis as the great military warehouse, and it bulks more largely on the plan than all the other buildings taken together. The store-rooms surround a large square in the center of which was a temple, —perhaps the Augusteum,—and the base of a

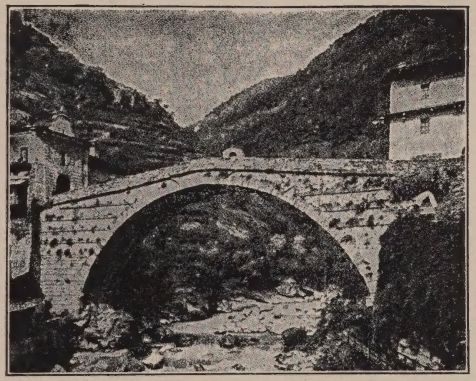
large statue, probably that of Augustus. Two smaller temples occupied part of the side next to the forum (?) with its colonnade. The other three sides were formed by a perfectly regular series of store-rooms. Situated in a high and unproductive region, and liable when its construction was planned to be obliged to prepare for long sieges by invaders from the north, it was indispensable that Aosta should be provisioned for a long period and stored with arms, fodder and with everything required by both garrison and population. The technical arrangements of this great structure are interesting, especially in comparison with the much later warehouses at Ostia and elsewhere.

But I am inclined to agree with Durms' suggestion that these underground vaults were more suited to storing water than grain, and that we have here the main cistern for the city, serving also as substructure to the colonnades surrounding the forum. It is impossible to deny the similarity of these parallel vaulted chambers with well-known cisterns such as those at Faicchio.

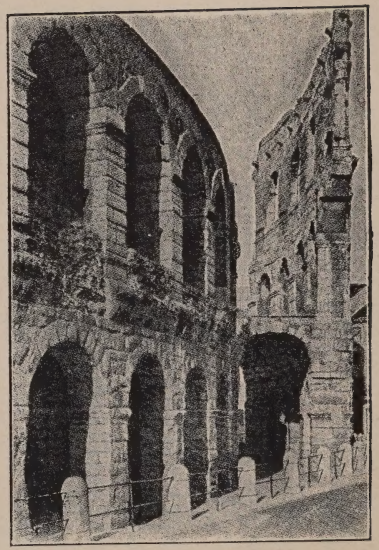
Aosta was made by Augustus the center of one of the three small military frontier districts, just beyond the borders of Italy, into which the Emperor partitioned the Alpine range. His idea was to keep the territory under his own per-

sonal control, as military districts, whereas Italy and other safe sections of the empire were under the civil rule of the Senate. This particular province was that of the Graian and Pennine Alps; the first province was that of the Cottian Alps. Aosta was the end of Italy from the age of Augustus. Pliny says, in measuring the length of Italy, that it extended from the Alpine borders at Augusta Praetoria, which he describes as placed at the entrance to the two Alpine passes, those of the Graian and the Pennine Alps. It not only effectually blocked the way of invasion but was an aggressive *point d'appui* for an advance.

As Turin had corresponded to Susa, across the border, in Italy itself, so Eporedia, the modern Ivrea, corresponded to Aosta, some sixty miles distant. There are many interesting remains of the early road connecting the two cities. Eporedia was built on a hill where the river Dora swings out into the great plain, at the point where the main artery between Milan (Mediolanum), Pavia (Ticinum), and the Rhine and Danube meet the east-west trading route. Though it was not an Augustan foundation, having been established in 100 B.C., its nearness to the Salassi had prevented any great development until the time of the foundation of Aosta, about 25 B.C.

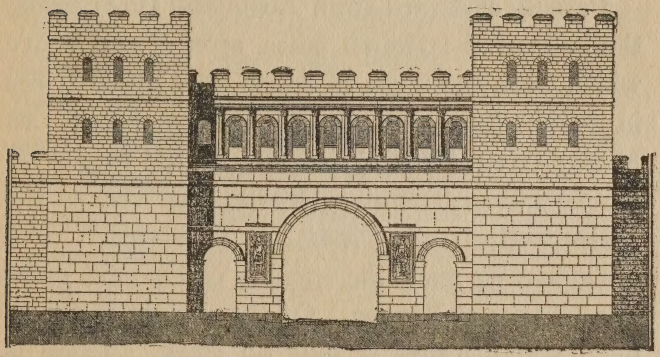


Aosta (near), Bridge



Verona, Amphitheater (only remaining section of outer circuit)

Aside from remains of a theater attributed to the Antonines, its Roman antiquities have disappeared, though there is little doubt that excavations would uncover the earliest military bulwark of the extreme north.



Aosta, Porta Praetoria, restored (Promis)

Verona

Passing eastward from Aosta and Ivrea across the base of the Italian lakes, around and above which were the nests of many unsubdued tribes in early Augustan times; leaving behind us Mediolanum (Milan), capital of the region of the Insubres, Ticinum (Pavia), as well as the fortress-cities of Placentia (Piacenza), and Cremona, we reach the opening of the next great Alpine pass at Verona. Of the ancient Milan so little remains that it tells no story. There is little more of Pavia, hardly more than the knowledge that it was laid out on the scheme of the Roman city-camp, so much better illustrated in Aosta and Turin, and that it had an honorary arch to Augustus and his whole family, erected to commemorate the successful issue of the Dalmatian-Illyrian war of 9-7 A.D. Of Roman Placentia and Cremona, great cities and earliest bulwarks on the Po of Republican Rome, there is nothing to be said. So we come to Verona as practically the only city in the north which still gives us the scheme of a large Roman city; I

mean a city that, though of military importance, had also a civil and commercial position, a city far richer and larger than Turin or any other ancient site with still remaining buildings in any part of Italy north of Rome.

What Tacitus says in his analysis of the struggle between the armies of Vespasian and Vitellius, best gives the opinion held of it in the early empire, when the leader of Vespasian forces in the west, Antonius Primus, led the small Flavian army into Italy by way of Aquileia, "where to fix the seat of war was now the question. Verona seemed the better place, the surrounding plains being adapted to the operations of cavalry, which was their strength; and to wrest from Vitellius an important colony seemed both useful and glorious. . . . The reduction of Verona brought an accession of wealth, and gave an example to other cities. Moreover as it lies between Rhaetia and the Julian Alps, it was a post of importance where an army in force might command the pass into Italy, and render it inaccessible to the German armies."

Long before, in Augustus' lifetime, Strabo had called it a large city, larger than Mantua and Comum, though Comum had recently received five thousand new colonists.

The Verona of the Middle Ages strikes so dominant a note with its S. Zeno, S. Fermo and the Cathedral, with its S. Anastasia, its castle and tombs of the Scaligers, that it takes some time to realize not only how much of the Roman period still survives, but how vividly the ruins tell the story of a really great and rich city of the Augustan age such as Strabo and Tacitus lead us to infer. The immense amphitheater—one of the half-dozen largest and best preserved—the recently excavated theater, the two city gates called Porta dei Borsari and Arco dei Leoni, the piers of the *ponte di pietra,* the numerous sculptures and inscriptions in the two museums, form a rather imposing if somewhat disconnected total. If Roman Verona has hardly been taken at its real value, it is possibly because its purpose and history in the light of its monuments have been misinterpreted. Its amphitheater is early, yet has been ascribed to Diocletian (about 290); and its two city gates are assigned to Gallienus on account of his restoration-inscription of 265 A.D. I propose a far earlier date for the gates, the first half of the reign of Augustus, and propose also to resuscitate a superb "triumphal," or colony, arch of the city, which, though torn down, still lies, *disjecta membra,* under the arcades of the amphi-

theater. Were this the place, I could revive, from drawings of the sixteenth century, several other monumental arches and gateways which must have placed Verona almost immediately after Rome among Italian cities in the number of its monuments of this class.

Mommsen elects to follow Pliny, in calling Verona an *oppidum* or town, rather than the inscription of the Porta dei Borsari, accepted by Borghesi, which proclaims Verona a colony as early as the time of Augustus. It seems to me that there are three reasons for believing Verona to have been made a colony by Augustus: (1) The inscription of Gallienus calls it so: "Colonia Augusta Verona"; (2) the gateway on which this inscription stands has all the characteristics in plan and style of the Augustan city gates, which are unknown after him; (3) the increased importance of Verona as part of Augustus's plan in northern Italy would logically make it a colony; and the intimate connection of the city at that time with Drusus confirms this view. Pliny calls other colonies *oppida;* as, for example, Eporedia, in this very region, which he in the same breath describes as a colony. The town in the colony was always called an *oppidum* when it was fortified, and I believe it is splitting hairs to use this expression of Pliny's against

Verona's claim to be an Augustan colony. Tacitus also correctly refers to Verona as a colony.

Travelers coming from the Tyrol through the Brenner Pass are always, as they emerge into the plain, impressed with the strength and picturesqueness of Verona's situation. For a low-lying city its impregnability is remarkable. It nestles where the river Adige, as it broadens out, takes a narrow double curve; the city is contained almost entirely in the lower arm of the S which surrounds it on three sides, while the fourth is protected by the canal of the "Adigetto," which cuts across the neck, so that the bulk of the city is really on an island. What makes the arrangement more remarkable is that across the river, where the original settlement evidently stood, is quite a precipitous hill which served as acropolis for the Augustan colony and was connected with it by a heavy stone bridge. The Lombard historian Liutprand compares it in this respect to Rome, where the Tiber cuts the city into two unequal parts, and speaks of the size and magnificence of the marble bridge and of the strength of the citadel on the hill. The piers of this Augustan bridge still remain in part.

At Verona the commercial east and west highway intersected the road up the Brenner Pass, the shortest and best means of communication

between the valley of the Po and the region of the Danube and southern Germany. About sixty miles from Verona up the Brenner road lies Trent, the ancient Tridentum, which had been founded by the Rhaeti, was occupied later by the Cenomanni, but being the first city site of importance on the Italian side of the pass, was seen by Augustus to be necessary to his plans. His troops occupied it in or before 24 B.C., and he proceeded to make it the advanced point for the concentration of troops and stores in preparation for the campaign of Drusus in 16 and 15 B.C., when the Alps were crossed and the provinces of Rhaetia and Vindelicia added to the Empire. In this way the neighboring Alps received the name of Tridentine Alps. Here the Brenner road was joined by the Via Claudia Augusta, coming direct from Altinum in Venetia.

Trent, therefore, at the top, and Verona at the bottom of the military road, formed a third duet similar to Aosta-Ivrea and Susa-Turin. Does not this fact give some indication of the time when Verona became a colony? It is known that in late Republican and Augustan times the granting of colonial rights was coincident with the building of walls; and it is hardly conceivable that Verona should have been on a different foot-

ing from Turin. Her foundation undoubtedly came a few years later. The name, Colonia Augusta Verona, shows it was after 27 B.C. The date of the occupation of Tridentum, 24 B.C., may be approximately that of the colonization of Verona itself. As for its earlier vicissitudes, the Rhaeti and the Gauls seem to have occupied the Acropolis. Pliny speaks of it as a city belonging to the Rhaeti and Euganei. It seems at one time to have been occupied by the Cenomanni. The Romans first came here in 89 B.C., under Pompeius Strabo, bringing with them, perhaps, Latin rights, and either then or under Augustus established themselves on the level site across the river where the bulk of the Augustan city arose. It could not, on account of having its outlines determined by the curves of the river and the preexisting acropolis, take on the exact rectilinear form of Turin and Aosta. The residence of Drusus at Verona is commemorated by inscriptions and statuary, and he undoubtedly contributed to the enlarging and beautifying of the city. Perhaps, as in a number of other cases, there existed here side by side a preëxisting civil municipal town and a superadded military colony.

Verona was far larger than Turin or Aosta. Its amphitheater had 25,000 seats. It stood to

reason, therefore, that its strip of clear sacred ground outside and encircling the walls, called the *pomerium,* would be wider than at Aosta, to make the defense the surer and the warning of an attack the quicker. When I was in Verona this time I decided to put to the test here my theory in regard to colony arches: that they were built whenever an Augustan colony was founded; that they stood outside the walls; that they were placed on the outer *pomerium* line, across the main highway, outside the principal city gate. I placed myself, therefore, at the principal gate of Augustan Verona, the Porta dei Borsari, and paced off the distance beyond it on the line of the old Roman road toward Rome, until I should reach the outer *pomerium* line, wondering if at this hypothetical point I might not find some trace, past or present, of the existence of a colony arch. Bearing in mind the 366 meters of Aosta, and supposing that the greater size of Verona implied a correspondingly larger *pomerium* strip, I reckoned the distance here should be between 500 and 600 meters. My delight may be imagined when, at a distance of about 550 meters, I found a curious thing. Stretched across the highway (Corso Cavour) was the outline of a Roman arch marked in the pavement by white cobble-stones edged with black. Here stood until

1805 what was called the Arch of the Gavii, an exquisite work of Augustan art.

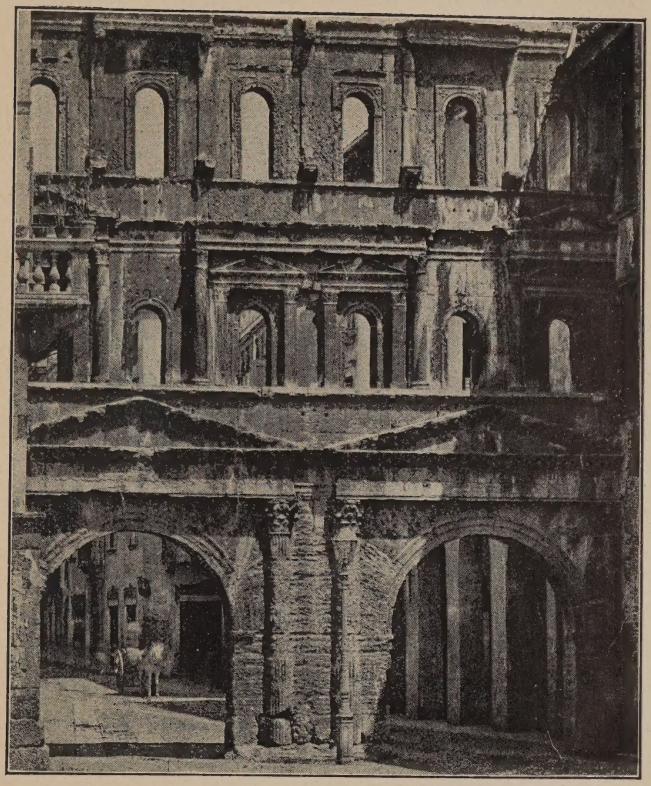
I had found that Verona had a colony arch, and I had found where the colony arch stood, on the outer *pomerium* line. But this was not all. Of course, in preparing for my book on Roman Triumphal and Memorial Arches I had listed this destroyed arch at Verona. I knew that it had been famous for its beauty, had been drawn and copied by Renaissance architects, and had been barbarously torn down by the French soldiery while they occupied Verona in 1805. I had supposed that, barring a few fragments, the arch was but a memory, to be reconstructed perhaps from these Renaissance drawings. But when I went to the amphitheater to look up the supposed "few fragments," what was my surprise to find many of its dark vaulted passages filled with the materials of the arch. Slowly I pieced its Odyssey. Hardly had it been torn down in 1805 when the French left the city and an Austrian archduke offered to pay half the cost of rebuilding the arch; but the Veronese, impoverished by the terrible reprisals for their rising of 1798, were unable to furnish the rest and unable to agree as to the site, so all the *disjecta membra* were carted, none too gently, to the amphitheater, and there they have remained, unknown to

archaeologists. The Veronese contented themselves by marking with those black and white cobbles the plan of the arch on the original site.

I know that the few specialists who have heard of this arch or read its inscriptions in the Latin Corpus will object that this is a private family arch because on it are the names of members of the Gavii family whose statues stood on the arch and in its niches. But this is an objection easily overcome. When Caesar and Augustus founded military colonies of veterans, the new establishment was often put under the guidance of a military leader and his family, which was henceforth associated with the fortunes of the city. Thus the Julii and their colony arch at S. Remy, the Campani and theirs at Aix-les-Bains, the Sergii and theirs at Pola in Istria. That the Gavii were military leaders is shown not only by Veronese inscriptions but by others in military colonies of North Italy, such as Aquileia, and even in the cities of Campania, in the South. Most convincing of all is the arch of the Sergii at Pola, where we find the names of the various members of the family of the man selected as leader of the colony by Augustus, Sergius, who had been tribune of the Twenty-ninth Legion, disbanded after the battle of Actium. Needless to say that, later in the reign of Augustus, when

the legal ritual in connection with public monuments became carefully regulated and all arches were dedicated to the Emperor, it would have been impossible to give to local authorities and military leaders such a prominent place on arches. I found some superb drawings of the Arch of the Gavii by the famous Renaissance architect Palladio in the Public Library at Verona: with their help and the financial assistance of a lover of art like J. Pierpont Morgan it would be easy to rebuild and restore what is certainly the most beautiful of all the Augustan arches in Italy. The director of antiquities in Italy, the enthusiastic and indefatigable Camillo Ricci, has given me some hope that it will be done. One of the striking traits of the Veronese has been their consistent love of their city and respect for its ancient monuments. Even as early as the sixteenth century there were local antiquarians who began to guard and publish them. I will even mention, as a possibility which I am investigating, that the arch may be a remnant of the pre-Augustan colony, and if so the earliest known arch in the Roman world.

Hardly second in interest is the principal gate of the Augustan city, the much-misunderstood *Porta dei Borsari*. What we now see is a gate with two wide twin openings framed by engaged



Verona, Porta dei Borsari (principal Augustan City Gate)
restored by Gallienus

columns supporting architraves and gables, and surmounted by two stories of arched galleries. It would seem to take but a very slight knowledge of art to see clearly that we have two very different periods and styles, and that the lower arcades are early and pure, while the galleries are late and debased; the former a work of Augustus, the latter of Gallienus. It is curious that this elementary fact has not been generally recognized, though known to some local specialists. The surface of the Augustan frieze was cut down and a new surface irregularly and crudely made to receive the restoration inscription of Gallienus, stating that the walls of Verona were built between April 3 and December 4 of the year 265 by order of the Emperor Gallienus. This statement is guilty of evident exaggeration. It would have been quite impossible to surround the entire city with walls and gates in these few months. We know, besides, from Tacitus, that in the struggle before the advent of Vespasian, two centuries earlier, in 69 A.D., the strongly fortified Verona was made the military center of the German and Gallic army. What Gallienus did was merely a work of restoration of the neglected fortifications. At the Porta dei Borsari he substituted a two-storied gallery for the Augustan superstructure and,

removing the inscription of Augustus, substituted his own, destroying even part of the moldings of the early frieze.

If any further confirmation were required of the early date of the primitive gate, it has been supplied by some recent and still unpublished excavations, from which I am here drawing for the first time the evident conclusions. These excavations have shown that the present thin screen-like structure, usually thought to be merely a passageway, and to be the whole of the gate, was but the forefront of a massive gateway, with central court and rear façade, more artistic than, but quite similar in scheme to, the other early Augustan military gates at Turin, Aosta, Nîmes, and Salona. Verona not being a purely military and utilitarian foundation, but a city of wealth and size, it was natural that the gates as well as the Colony Arch should be of greater artistic beauty. Comparing now, all these various Augustan gateways, we find a varied galaxy, differing not only in materials and architectural style, but in the number of arcades: here there are two, at Aosta and Salona there are three, at Nîmes and Turin four.

Of another Augustan gate, the Arco dei Leoni, less remains, but it is less marred by later restoration, and it originally had the same plan,

which has been traced and partly uncovered under the modern street. It may have been the Porta Principalis Sinistra. A most peculiar fact is that backing against it and separated only by a small space, was another gate. It bears an extremely interesting early Augustan inscription which disproves the late date assigned to these arches. There were, as I have said, other early city arches and gates: across the river, the so-called Janus arch, which, perhaps, belonged to the pre-Augustan city; the so-called Arch of Jupiter Ammon, that stood across the intersection of the two thoroughfares in the center of the city; the early gate called the Arch of Valerius; and that near the Church of S. Tommaso. Parts of these gates, of their galleries, similar to those of the Arco dei Leoni and Porta dei Borsari, show that there were at least four gates of this type. They can be seen in the two interesting little museums of antiquities, one of which was founded by the famous Muratori. From a study of these monuments it is possible to reconstruct in large part the plan of Roman Verona, and to see how, even at present, the city continues to follow the lines of the Roman streets, and that it contains unsuspected treasures of early Roman art.

At some time between c. 25 and 20 B.C. Verona

was therefore recolonized and rebuilt by Augustus and served as base of supplies for Drusus in his great campaigns in the north, beyond the Alps, in connection with Tridentum. How the two brothers, Tiberius and Drusus, coöperated in these campaigns; Tiberius striking and closing in from the northwest beyond the Alps, and Drusus pushing up through the passes and high Alpine valleys, is a story of which the details are too little known to us. Drusus continued its construction and decoration, and the work appears to have gone on during the Flavian age. It seems as if we should attribute to this century the two other magnificent works of architecture: the amphitheater and theater. The amphitheater is so well-known that one is almost overcome with stage-fright in speaking of it. The fashion in amphitheaters was set by Campania before Rome adopted it, so it is not surprising that the one in Capua is almost as large as the Colisseum and that of Puteoli even larger.[1] But while these two Campanian amphitheaters are in their present state extremely interesting for the arena and its substructures and passages, they cannot compare in architectural interest with those at Verona and Pola, which are somewhat smaller,

[1] Nissen and Belock give its measures as 147 x 117 m., but Durm (*Archit. d. Römer,*[2] 669) gives the extraordinary measurement of 190 x 144 m., whereas the Colosseum is only 187 x 155 m!

Verona, Amphitheater

Verona, Augustan Bridge (medieval restorations on right)

and which curiously supplement each other: Verona having had her outer shell destroyed, while in Pola it is the outer row of arcades that remains intact while the interior was gutted. Outside of Italy the only amphitheaters that are the rivals of these two in monumental grandeur, are those of Nîmes and Arles in France, Tarragona in Spain, and Thysdrus in Africa. It is curious that in none of these cases is there any record of the date of their construction, so that we are left entirely to conjecture and stylistic indications.

At Verona we miss the change of order with which we are familiar at Rome. The Doric is used consistently in all three stories of arcades.

Of the outer circuit of seventy-two arcades only four are standing to show the rhythm of the three stories and the outside finish. It is thought that when the walls of Gallienus were hurriedly constructed in 265 A.D. in prevision of the northern invasion and were carried past the amphitheater, part of this outer circuit was embodied in the fortifications. It was closed up by a wall and used as a fortress in the Middle Ages. An earthquake overturned part of the outer arcades and others were used as building stone. But when the communal revival of the Middle Ages came we see the love of the Veronese for their

monuments showing itself in a very remarkable, and for that time, almost unique way. In the earliest city statutes, a document of the year 1228, the Podesta, or chief magistrate, is directed to employ a certain specified sum during the first six months of his incumbency for repairs on the amphitheater, *reparatione et refectione Arenae.* The term *Arena* was the common Italian medieval term for Roman amphitheater and is used even now.

In its dimensions (153 x 122 m.) it surpasses Nîmes, Arles and Thysdrus, and if it is not so impressive it is because of this loss of its upper story and because, of course, the inner arcades, not being intended to be seen in the glare of sunshine, were more roughly finished. One interesting feature is the fine condition of the interior arrangements, and the lines of seats. They were continually restored even in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (e.g. 1568), and were presumably used on public occasions. The fact that there are no traces of arrangements for suspending an immense awning over the interior proves nothing, as they would have disappeared with the destruction of the outer circuit. The close analogy with the amphitheater of Pola makes it probable that the arrangements we shall find there were reproduced

here. As for its age, far from attributing it to Diocletian and the decadence, against which there is every historic probability, I should lean toward the period between Claudius and Vespasian, when the bossed masonry, so prominent here, was most popular throughout Italy.

The theater was earlier in date than the amphitheater. Perhaps it is even more interesting for that reason than for what remains of it, which is quite fragmentary. It belonged to the earliest section of the Roman city across the river, just beyond the great bridge at the foot of the citadel hill. Its orchestra rested against the hillside and the wall of the stage faced the river. The early antiquarians of Verona attributed it to Augustus and I believe they are quite right. I should even be inclined to take the extraordinary fact that it is built of the primitive, soft tufa as a sign of possible pre-Augustan date! Its material made it more subject to decay from neglect, though it had been kept in perfect repair up to the time of Theodoric the Goth, who early in the sixth century, loved Verona and lived here, building a superb palace on the hill above the theater. Still, as early as 895 A.D. King Berengarius allowed the inhabitants to tear down to its foundations any part of the theater which threatened to fall. An enlightened citizen, Sig. Monga, excavated

here and discovered not only a great deal of the architecture but a number of statues and inscriptions which showed that the theater existed in the time of Augustus and was decorated with statues of Drusus and other members of the imperial family. A large part of the podium remains, with seven rows of seats. More recent excavations, which involved the tearing down of thirty-six houses, have finally, since 1904, made it possible to get a clearer view of the structure. It is certainly one of the earliest known theaters, contemporary with those of Marcellus in Rome, and of Aosta, if not earlier. It would be interesting to make a reconstructed model of it, and determine how much of the tufa was concealed by decorative work in marble incrustation of blocks and slabs. It certainly had a wealth of decorative statuary.

Still further east than Verona we reach the ultimate military route in Italy, that starting from Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic, and leading northward past the second member of this fourth Augustan duet, Emona on the upper Save, across the Julian Alps to Pannonia: this was the great military artery of communication with the Danube, and so an integral unit in the scheme of Augustan conquest. Aquileia was a city more than the equal of Verona. The poet

Ausonius, not many years before its destruction by the hordes of Attila, sings of the fame of its port and its walls. He places it ninth among the cities of the Empire, surpassed in Italy at that time only by Rome and Milan. "Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes, moenibus et portu celeberrima." It was the meeting or starting point of no less than six military highways. Though founded in 181 B.C. its importance was not fully developed until the conquest of Istria and Dalmatia and part of their *hinterland* had been completed by Octavian in and after 35 B.C., when it began to serve as a base for movements northward. But thus far no architectural remains of his time have come to light in either Aquileia or Emona, and I shall turn to other cities still further eastward in Istria and Dalmatia for the abundant traces of the great work which Augustus planned and carried out in this region as a sacred inheritance from Julius Caesar even before he had worked out the complicated scheme in northern Italy which we have been studying.

VII

Istria and Dalmatia

In these days of *Italia Irredenta,* when Italy is seething with the repressed desire to annex Southern Tyrol and Istria, it is quite in point to note that Augustus pushed the Italian border forward so as to include Istria. He rebuilt and beautified Aquileia, which then occupied as important a commercial position as Venice did later. The Via Popillia had been run through to it in 132 B.C. The Via Postumia had already been brought across northern Italy to it in 148, so that Aquileia was equipped to become the focus for the land traffic of Italy with the north. From it roads led by various routes, especially through Noricum, toward the vast regions of the Danube as well as the east shores of the Adriatic. The city of Julia Concordia, between Aquileia and Altinum, has been excavated and its plan made out, as that of an early Augustan colony.

Ever since her destruction by Attila in 452 Aquileia has served as a quarry and in the rise of medieval cities her ancient monuments have quite disappeared. To see really monumental

evidence of the activity of Augustus in connection with the opening up of northeast Europe, we must go, then, to Istria and Dalmatia. It is a trip that is always fascinating and is now becoming fashionable. The two lines of steamers, the Austrian Lloyd and the Hungarian line, with both fast and slow steamers, give one the choice of going through the outer islands to a few important points and of coming back on the coasting steamers and stopping at every small port. There is no more fairy-like scene than sunrise and sunset as one winds, on the slow-moving boats, through the maze of islands. They are peculiarly elongated and low lying; bare of everything on the side swept by the *bora* winds.

Ever since Jackson's book appeared a small coterie of English and American travelers have appreciated the unusually rich medieval art of several of these cities, especially Ragusa, Zara and Parenzo, but the wonderful Roman ruins, so admired by travelers of a century or two ago, are now almost ignored.

The Italian architects of the Renaissance, the French and English travelers and architects of the eighteenth century, were enthusiastic about the ruins along this coast. Such men as Stuart and Revett, Thomas Allason, Cassas and Robert Adam have left us detailed descriptions and,

better still, large lithographic and engraved plates, some of them of the sort that contemporary architects sometimes prefer to photographs. As they date from the days before the commercial revival under the French and Austrians, they are peculiarly precious.

Salona

We generally associate the capital of Roman Dalmatia with the name of that distinguished Dalmatian, the Emperor Diocletian, greatest politician since Augustus. He was born at Salona, and when he abdicated in 305 A.D. returned here to live as a private citizen in the magnificent castle villa which he built near by, in which the medieval town of Spalato now nestles.

Tucked away in a most unfrequented corner of the world, it is hard for us now to realize that Salona steadily grew until in the fourth and fifth centuries it was one of the largest cities of the Roman world, half as large as Constantinople; but if the scholars who have haughtily curled the lip at any references to the Roman Salona because they think it a city of the decadence, were to study its ruins without preconception, especially as they are now being laid bare, they would find reason to revise their opinion and recognize a large nucleus of the Augustan age

and some remains even of the earlier Greek city, referred to in Dio's history of the civil war.

Salona's history is Greek in its beginnings and is characteristic of the general conditions that governed the pre-Roman period in Dalmatia. The Greek colonists had crept up the coast line from the southeast, settling on the islands and, in a few cases, on the mainland. Pharus, Issa, Epidamnus, Apollonia, Delminium, were among these colonies. From the mother colony on the island of Issa, the cities of Tragurion (modern Traù) and Epetion had been founded, and from them Salona, only a few miles southeast of Tragurion. The road connecting Salona with Tragurion, called the *Via munita,* with its Cyclopean retaining wall, is the oldest known Dalmatian road. The acropolis of the Greek Salonê can still be traced; its walls, built perhaps at the time of the wars of the close of the third century B.C., between the Illyrians and the Romans, were then unprovided with towers, and Caesar's commentaries show that temporary wooden towers were added for defensive purposes in the civil war. Already in 119 B.C. the consul Cecilius Metellus, in conducting his campaign against the Dalmatians, had made his winter quarters at Salona, showing its importance as a military center. Still, in the vicissi-

tudes of war, Salona fell into the power of the native Dalmatian forces and had to be captured several times by the Romans: in 78 B.C. by Casconius, in 39 by Asinius Pollio, and in 33 by Augustus himself.

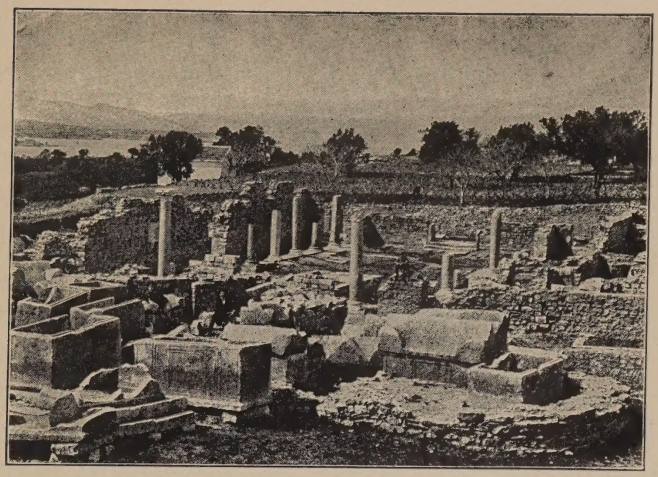
After the battle of Philippi in 42, Augustus had received Illyria as part of his share of the West, and it was in the course of the campaigns of his lieutenant, Pollio, to subject it that Salona was delivered from the hostile Dalmatian occupants in 39 B.C. It was either then or toward 33 that Augustus raised it to the rank of a colony under the name of Iulia Martia Salona, and added a Roman city by the side of the Greek, with a wall surrounding the whole and connected with that of the Greek acropolis. Even thus enlarged, the city was relatively small. How it afterwards grew is marked by two successive additional systems of fortifications, one under Marcus Aurelius, in 176, when the army threw up walls to defend the city against the threatened irruption of the Marcomannian hordes, and another in the fourth and fifth centuries, when new bulwarks of exceptional strength and extent were built against the Goths by the Christian emperors.

Of the Augustan city there are almost certainly three relics, and probably others will ap-

pear during further excavations. They are: (1) the Porta Caesarea and part of the walls; (2) the Amphitheater; (3) the Aqueduct. In the present muddle of the city's topography, when nobody seems to have a tenable hypothesis as to what was the early and what the later portion of the ancient city, I think these landmarks may give the clue. The excavations are now in full swing and of unusual interest, though so modestly done that they receive scant attention. The excavator is the indefatigable Monsignor Francesco Bulic, who is the guardian of Dalmatia's archaeological interests and has done so much to save Diocletian's palace at Spalato from disintegration and is still busy freeing it from modern accretions. Salona was practically unique in the completeness of the preservation of the ancient city not only throughout the Middle Ages, but even, except for the destruction of the wars of the thirteenth century, through the Renaissance. The great Christian basilicas subsisted by the side of the hardly injured theater, amphitheater, and walls of Roman times. In the seventeenth century, however, the Venetians decreed the final demolition of the old city to prevent its use by the Turks! The Venetians, as usual, laid sacrilegious hands on all its splendid buildings, for use in modern structures, even in Venice itself.

Modern excavations were carried on under Lanza (1821-1827) and Carrara (1842-1850), who uncovered parts of the theater, the Porta Caesarea, the Porta Andetria, the wall circuit, the amphitheater, and a small part of the Christian antiquities. In 1874 excavations were resumed and had been continued intermittently and with small means before Bulic's energy found a better way. Until recently the chief results have been the uncovering of an imposing group of Early Christian monuments of all sorts belonging to the age when Salona had grown to be a metropolis. The greatest known open-air Christian cemetery with its multitude of stone sarcophagi and inscriptions was found, with a large basilica as its center. This, of course, was outside the city walls; then there was uncovered the episcopal basilica within the city, with all its annexes—baptistry, confirmation hall, episcopal palace, and hospice.

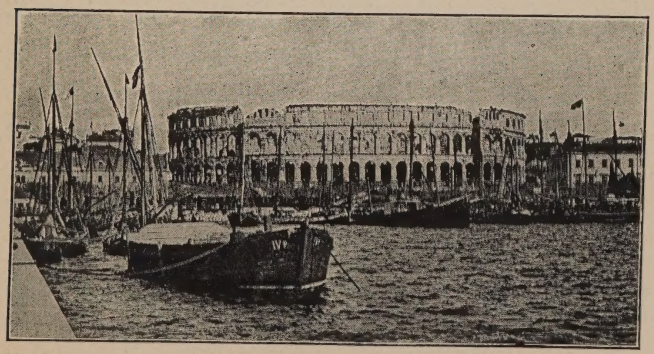
But now the earlier ruins are claiming renewed attention, and for two seasons the main center of work has been the city gate called Porta Caesarea, a structure already partly cleared in Carrara's excavations of 1849, but soon reinterred without thorough investigation. The east face and part of the passage have been freed, and several fragments of an Augustan



Salona, Basilica and Cemetery

Salona, Amphitheater

Salona, Sarcophagi



Pola, Harbor with Amphitheater

inscription were found, as well as so many parts of the memberment that I hope to be able to reconstruct the design of this important structure. Far from being a work of the decadence of Roman art, this gate can now be proved to be in the style of the other large Augustan gates at Nîmes, Turin, Aosta and Verona, most of which I have described. It is a small fortress with a central court. The gateways themselves are triple on each face, and the outside, or east face, is flanked by two large projecting circular towers, which have caused great confusion in the minds of archaeologists because they were separate from the walls in construction, were used as aqueduct reservoirs, and projected into the *interior* of the city. But what became the interior in the time of Marcus Aurelius, when the new and larger wall circuit was erected to inclose the east suburb, had been the exterior in the time of Augustus, when the city was less than half its later size. The city had expanded eastward in these two centuries of *pax romana,* when the old Augustan practice of fortifying the colonies had been totally abandoned. It was only when the great onslaught of the Marcomanni and Quadi came in 169 that it was necessary to refortify this northern bulwark of the empire, inclosing the suburbs. The army itself has left

inscribed records of how and when it did this work.

In the new circuit the place of the old Porta Caesarea was taken, much farther eastward, by the gate, of which a part still remains, called Porta Andetria, through which the principal highway, the Via Gabiniana, entered the city. The new wall followed the line of the Augustan (or Caesarean?) aqueduct, which had ended by hiding itself in the bowels of that part of the primitive Augustan wall stretching on both sides of the Porta Caesarea, whose great defensive towers henceforth served merely as reservoirs, and the gate itself merely as a spectacular access to the acropolis from the interior of the city.

As for the aqueduct, which was connected both with the Porta Caesarea and the amphitheater, its lead pipes bear the significant names of the makers, Julius Eucarpius and Caius Julius Xantus, proof enough, in the mere use of the name Julius, of the Augustan age for its original construction, which is of superb masonry of early type. Not enough can be seen of the theater or the public Thermae for me to offer any conjecture as to their age, but the excavations may soon provide more data. The Augustan city, even though of small size, had already become of great strategic importance as the

center of the network of new roads planned by Augustus for connecting the seaboard with the valley of the Danube, and this with the Italian highways. Why was this of special value in the formative period of Caesar and Augustus? The stretch of coast from the Venetian lagoons to the borders of Montenegro seems always to have been a debatable land. Should it or should it not be reckoned as part of Italy? For over a generation it has been a rallying cry for the Italian Irreconcilables, the partisans of *Italia Irredenta,* who want it wrested from Austria. In the Middle Ages it belonged to Venice, a semi-Oriental power, who received it from the Emperors of Byzantium. Still earlier, in Roman times, it was for a while, under Augustus, administered as if it were part of Italy, and then shifted from the pacific administration of the Senate to the direct military rule of the Emperor, as being a bulwark of Italy, and either in or near a war center, becoming finally the province of Illyrium.

Soon after Rome had found it necessary during the last century and a half of the Republic, to push her conquests into this region, her settlers began to follow, and to congregate at the trading ports, especially in the Greek cities of the islands and the coast. The protection which they

required and the sympathy with the Greek settlers in their contests with the natives, involved Rome more and more.

When in 59 B.C., this region became the province of Illyrium, Julius Caesar was made its first proconsul, with his capital at Salona, in Central Dalmatia, which then became an *oppidum civium Romanorum,* but not yet a colony. Caesar himself stayed here long enough in 57-56 and in 54 B.C. to exercise his fascinating influence and secure the loyalty of the Salonitans in his future struggle, though one of his armies was annihilated in marching through to Macedonia. From Caesar and Dio we learn how Dalmatia became one of the main storm centers in the civil war, and how Salona was unsuccessfully besieged by the Pompeians. In Julius Caesar's plans for Roman supremacy this region held a distinct and important place. He had seen that the direct routes between Rome and the Danube lay through the difficult *hinterland* back of the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts, beginning with that which led eventually from Aquileia to Vienna (Vindobonum). In the campaign which he planned but never carried out against the new and dangerous Dacian power, Caesar probably expected to use these routes. The work which was to be carried to its logical completion by

Trajan's conquest of Dacia was already foreshadowed. Augustus himself as a boy had actually seen, under Caesar's tuition, the lay of the land, and he was so persuaded of the importance of this part of his legacy of Caesarean political ideas that he made it the scene of his first independent operations, and in the attack of its strongholds, in what seems to us a petty warfare for the future Emperor, wiped out the stigma of personal cowardice that earlier military events had attached to him. The gradual abandonment by Augustus, in his maturer years, of the Caesarean scheme, made it unnecessary to push the conquest of the interior and the building of the military roads to their ultimate conclusion.

No wonder, then, that Salona is yielding antiquities as early as the Augustan age and that it grew steadily in importance.

Fragments of the dedicatory inscriptions of the Porta Caesarea have come to light, some in the excavations of Carrara (1849) and many more during the past years. It had long been known that the gate was restored under the Emperor Constantius, between 337 and 350, by his governor of Dalmatia, Flavius Rufinus Sarmentius, but I should judge that the restoration was a slight one, affecting perhaps only the upper section. What is far more important than this

late inscription in small letters is the finding of numerous fragments, mostly minute, of characteristic, large Augustan characters from the original dedication. I shall not attempt to reconstruct it now, because new fragments are appearing, and in any case it would not be fair to Monsignor Bulic, but I can safely reproduce enough of the letters to prove their Augustan character: IMP [*Caesar, divi. f. A*] VG [*usto po*] NTI [*fici maxi*] MO [*t*] RIB [*p*] O [*t*] I. I am expecting shortly to return to Salona, as the gate is entirely cleared, and in the passageway and in the west side more of the Augustan inscription must have been recovered. The entire structure is in good-sized, carefully cut, blocks of stone; the moldings are simple, the Corinthian capitals of excellent *facture,* the proportions quite imposing.

It is with considerable diffidence that I venture to claim the amphitheater for the reign of Augustus. It was in 1850 that the excavation was begun, and the digging went in some parts to a depth of over twenty feet. Its major axis is 65 m., its minor 47 m., which makes it slightly larger than Pompeii. The probability is that the seats were entirely of wood: their ashes were found by the excavators. Monsignor Bulic asked me to consider carefully the style of the amphi-

theater. No inscription has been found that would give any clue to its age. It stands at the west end of the primitive part of the city, and is so small that it was evidently planned for a city of quite limited area, certainly far smaller than Salona had become in the age of the Antonines, as we are constrained to judge from the area inclosed in the walls of Marcus Aurelius. This indication of an early date would be inconclusive if it were not for the primitive style of the arcades, their heavy proportions, and the absence of the tooling or boss-work familiar to us after the time of Claudius. On the other hand, the amphitheater at Pola is a good example of Flavian or early Antonine work in this region, perhaps of Trajan's time, and a comparison with its developed forms makes the Augustan age seem exceedingly probable for the amphitheater of Salona. The majority of critics will be exceedingly skeptical, I know, of so early a date, and loth to recognize here a link between the solid pre-Caesarean type of amphitheater, as represented by those at Pompeii and perhaps at Sutri, and the open-arched Imperial type of the Claudian and Flavian era, as shown at Capua and the Colosseum. But I think that the work tells its own story to an expert in architectural history.

The development of inland highways, which

seems to have been discontinued for a while after Augustus had given up the idea of a Dacian war, was carried forward again after the great Dalmatian insurrection under Bato in 6-9 A.D. had shown how dangerous it was to allow the native levies time to come together and prepare while the Roman armies were hampered in their powers of observation and rapid movement.

In order to make this impossible in the future, Tiberius, who had himself crushed the rising, which had threatened Italy itself, then carried the early Augustan road scheme practically to completion. In this system there were four main arteries, military or commercial, centering at Salona. The west branch first utilized the old Via Munita to Tragurion and then touched at all the seaports till it reached Aquileia and joined the Italian network and the northwest route to Vindobonum. The second road was that directly northward by way of Clissa and Andetrium over the mountains. It was called Via Gabiniana. The eastern artery passed *Via* Aequum and the Save to join the future Pannonian road system. At Pons Tiluri it sent out an offshoot into the Balkan fastnesses, while another branch turned southward to old Narona. The least important was the southeast coast road by way of Epetion. The Dalmatian milestone inscriptions indicate

that, as we should judge by historic records, very little was done to the Dalmatian roads between Tiberius and Trajan. Vespasian decided to transfer some of the Dalmation legions northward to Pannonia, and so diminished the military importance of these highways. But under Trajan they became a paramount preoccupation in preparation for his Dacian wars.

Some years ago an international Congress of Christian Archaeology met at Spalato, in order to give lovers of early Christian monuments an opportunity to study the ruins of the churches at Salona. If at Ravenna and Parenzo we see the early Christian basilica almost untouched in its architecture and the main lines of its decorative mosaics, better, in fact, than anywhere else in the world, it is to Salona that we must come to study the accessories and surroundings of the early churches.

Salona possessed two very large basilicas, both of which have been thoroughly excavated. One was the city cathedral, the Episcopal church; the other the suburban basilica around which was grouped the great cemetery. We find stray traces elsewhere of the open-air burial places which succeeded the Catacombs, but only here in Salona can we see one in all its extent and ar-

rangement. Scattered about in trenches or entirely exposed on a level lower than the ancient soil we can study a multitude of the heavy stone sarcophagi then in use, devoid of decoration or beauty, as well as a quantity of slab-covered tombs and sepulchral chambers. At the same time, we can find in the museum at Spalato a number of beautifully carved marble sarcophagi of the same age, with scenes of Bible history and Christian symbolism, similar to those in the Lateran museum in Rome.

In both basilicas numerous columns, capitals mosaic pavements, cornices, parapets and screens, dating from the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, give all the necessary elements for reconstructing the artistic appearance of the interiors.

The walls are destroyed almost to the ground level, so that the architecture cannot be certainly revived except in plan: but this plan is what makes both buildings so unusual.

The urban basilica has the usual nave and two aisles. On either side of the apse are the two sacristies,—the *prothesis* and *diaconicon*,—which afterward were replaced by the side-apses. From the left aisle opens up the group of three annexes of which the center is formed of the circular baptistery, out of which opens the *consigna-*

torium or chapel for the administration of the chrism. Its symbolic floor mosaic of the stags drinking from the sacred fountain with its inscription is uniquely apposite. I think that this confirmation hall is the most perfect known. There are other charming mosaics, in the apse and aisles. On the right side, near the apse and opening up both into the aisle and the city street, are the episcopium and hospice. A rather unusual feature on the front is a long narthex in place of an open atrium.

The inscription in the mosaic pavement of the apse with the expression: *nova post vetera coepit Synferius, Esychius eius nepos cum clero et populo fecit,* is a most interesting building record, proving the rebuilding of the basilica in about 400, probably owing to the greatly increased demand for space by the population.

There are two basilicas outside the ancient walls; one at a site called Marusinac, the other and more important at a site called Manastirine. At Manastirine the basilica, dedicated to SS. Doimus and Anastasius, was undoubtedly the sacred center of Dalmatian Christianity. The church was in the center of a large group of mortuary chapels of great antiquity in or under which were buried the most noted martyrs and bishops, beginning with Doimus, the first

bishop, supposed to be of the post-apostolic age.

There are here three superposed layers of Christian tombs. The earliest belonged to the country estate of L. Ulpius, a noble convert of the close of the first century, who arranged to bury in his property the bodies of S. Doimus and other early Christians. Then began the construction of mortuary chapels, *cellae memoriae,* and the development of a cemetery for Christians when the property came, perhaps by testament, into the ownership of the Christian church. Clustered closely around the chapels and encroaching even on their interiors came the subsequent crowd of burials, anxious to be close to the sacred bodies.

The basilica itself was built over a small church and numerous graves; and was made to open into a few of the mortuary chapels, while it caused the ruin of others. The most historically interesting is that of S. Anastasius, in the form of a small basilica, built by the matron Asclepia, as we read in the acts of S. Anastasius, martyred with many other Salonitan Christians, under Diocletian. Asclepia herself was probably buried in a sarcophagus with the relief of the Good Shepherd now in the museum at Spalato. The cemetery extends for several hundred yards in every direction around the church.

Nearly everything that cannot be seen *in situ,* is distributed in the various houses in Spalato, where antiquities are most uncomfortably sheltered but not arranged. An early text of the fourth century calls the cemetery *Legis sanctae christianae coemeterium.*

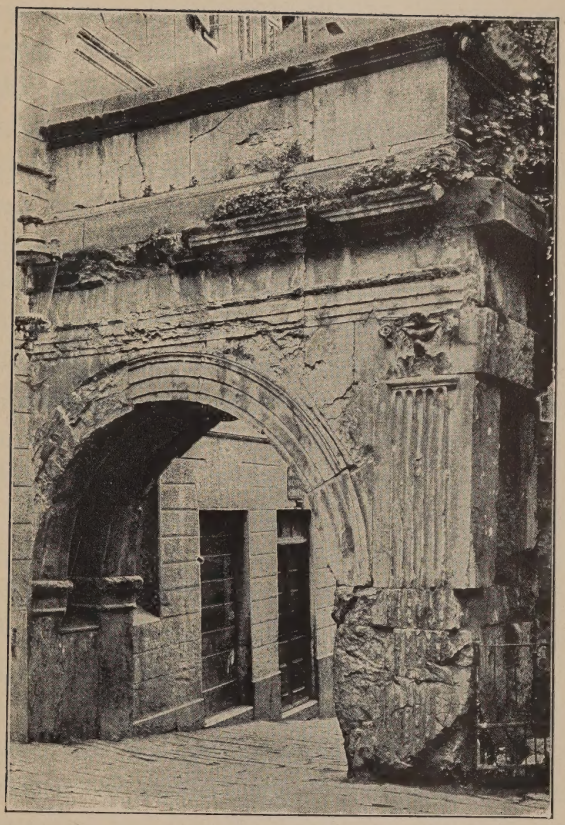
The barbarian invasions of the fifth century, during which everything outside of the fortifications was devastated, resulted in the destruction and desecration of this sacred spot. The basilica whose ruins we see was built in the age of Justinian on the devastated site and this explains the apparent disrespect for the primitive tombs. Burials were then continued here until the capture of the city in about 630; so that we can follow Christian rites for over five centuries.

Salona comes rightly by its Christian monuments, because it is noted for its early converts, during the first and second centuries, and for its martyrs. From it the gospel spread throughout Dalmatia and when the episcopal basilica was built in the fourth century it was given a place of honor on the summit of the old acropolis. Rome itself preserves a unique record of these early leaders in the chapel of S. Venanzio at the Lateran, which was built or transformed to contain their relics brought from Salona by a special mission in 640 after its capture and desecration.

Trieste

While Augustus was fortifying and enlarging Salona he was also, during the years just before and after 30 B.C., establishing a continuous line of new colonies along the coast from Tergeste (Trieste) to Narona, near Montenegro, and surrounding them with fortifications. His troops had only recently reconquered Dalmatia, and he was still enthusiastic to carry out Caesar's scheme for making this region the starting-point for the concerted advance on the valley of the Danube. I shall describe what is left of three of the most important of these colonies, now represented by the modern cities of Trieste, Pola, and Zara.

Ancient Tergeste is now the modern busy seaport of Trieste, main outlet of the Austrian empire on the Adriatic, seat of the Austrian Lloyd Steamship Company. It is so absolutely modern that it seems almost hopeless to attempt to trace any of its Roman life. And yet what we do find that is ancient is peculiarly precious, because so much of it dates from the time of the foundation by Augustus. It is possible that Tergeste was colonized as early as 41 B.C., when the great distributions of land to veterans after Philippi took place; but the city walls came a few years later. What their date was appears



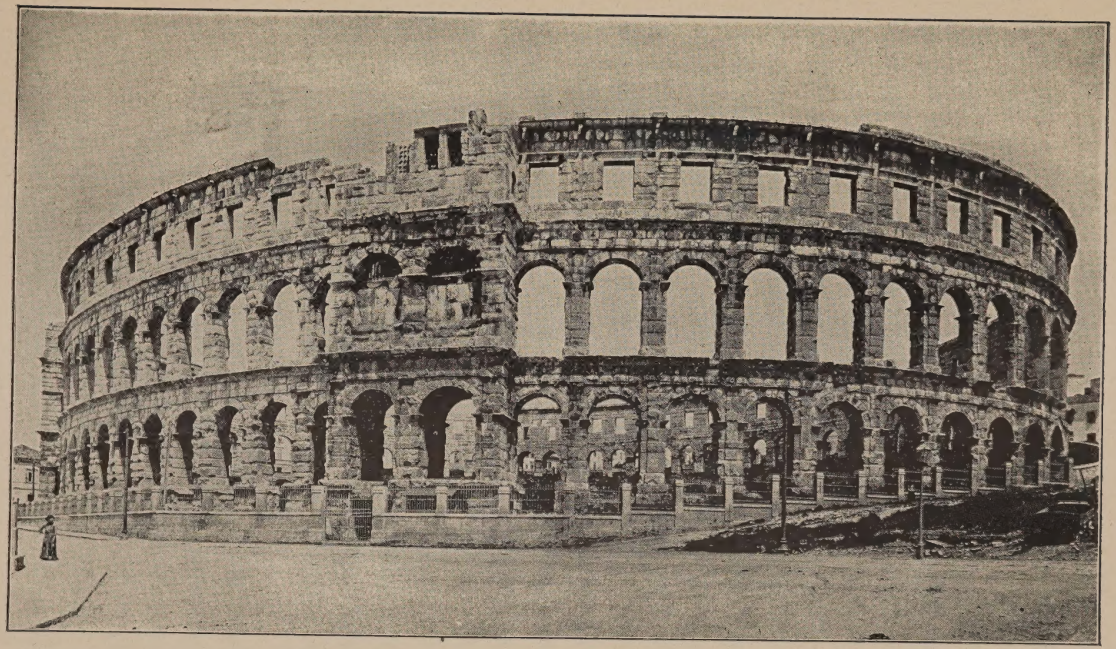
Trieste, "Arco di Riccardo," Gate of Roman Tergeste
(Early Augustan age)

from an inscription, part of which is preserved in the Lapidary Museum, reading: IMP. CAESAR COS. DESIG. TERT, III. VIR. R. I. C. ITER. MVRVM TVRRESQVE FECIT. This statement, on one of the early city gates, shows that the walls, towers, and gates were built by Augustus and completed at the close of his Second Consulship, after he had been nominated for a third term. This gives the date 32 B.C., making it, I believe, the earliest dated civic Augustan inscription. What has become of these gates and walls? Even the location of the two main gateways—Praetoria and Decumana—is unknown. They were probably pierced with two or three arcades, as in other Augustan cities of medium or small size.

But I believe I have identified one of the minor Augustan gates, one of the outlets of the Cardo, the main cross street, in the so-called Arco di Riccardo, which still stands on the descending slope facing the port. One of its ends is hidden in the wall of a modern house, and its piers are half-buried under the present street pavement, so that its proportions are terribly dwarfed and its effectiveness quite lost; but its pure and simple solidity, the Corinthian order of its façade, the style of its moldings, and the size of its constructive units, are all indications of its early age. That it was a gate in the city

walls, and not a free-standing arch, is evident from the unfinished state of its exposed end; and excavations would doubtless bring to light the base of the city walls on a line with it. Its single arcade is framed by a pair of Corinthian half-columns supporting a frieze and attic, both of which had plain, uninscribed surfaces. Had this been one of the principal gates it would certainly have had a dedicatory inscription—a duplicate of the one I have just quoted. For all its simplicity, it would repay excavation. I recommend it to the care of the Central Archaeological Commission in Vienna as probably one of the earliest known structures of the first emperor. I hardly think that they appreciate its early date or historic importance, for, except by Graef, it has never been ascribed, that I am aware, to the time of Augustus.

Are there also possibly in Trieste any traces of the Colony Arch which was the indispensable concomitant of the foundation of a Roman city, or any further records of the city gates? When the cathedral of the converted city was built in the fifth century, and when it was added to in subsequent centuries, the site of the old Capitolium, or main temple of the Roman Tergeste, was used, and its ruins were built into the church. Parts of other ancient monuments came into



Pola, Amphitheater with one of the Entrances

use as building material when the bell tower was put up, and the main portal of the church was formed out of an antique sepulchral monument. In this farrago, and among the many fragments in the neighboring Museo Lapidario, I was delighted to discover parts of both the main Augustan gates and the Colony Arch. To the Arch I attribute two sections of a narrow frieze with a decoration of arms and armor in low relief above a double architrave. It belongs to the same type as the friezes that still remain in place in the other early Augustan arches of Pola and S. Remy (Southern France), built in the same decade. To the same arch may belong a section of cornice with an early form of egg-and-dart, dentil and anthemion decoration, a bit of frieze with foliated scrollwork, and some slabs with arms and armor and further frieze fragments, built into the campanile, though I am inclined to ascribe the latter to some military sepulchral monument similar to that found at Gardun in the interior of Dalmatia.

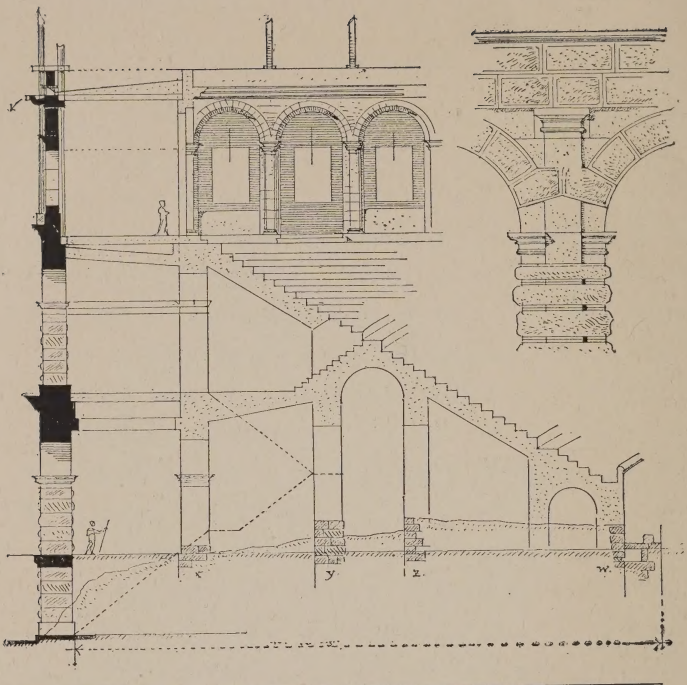
On the other hand, to the gates, which were always of simpler design than the arch, belonged two colossal heads, in very bold projection, of guardian deities of the city, one a form of Jupiter Ammon, with rams' horns, the other a Medusa-like genius with snakes decorating its

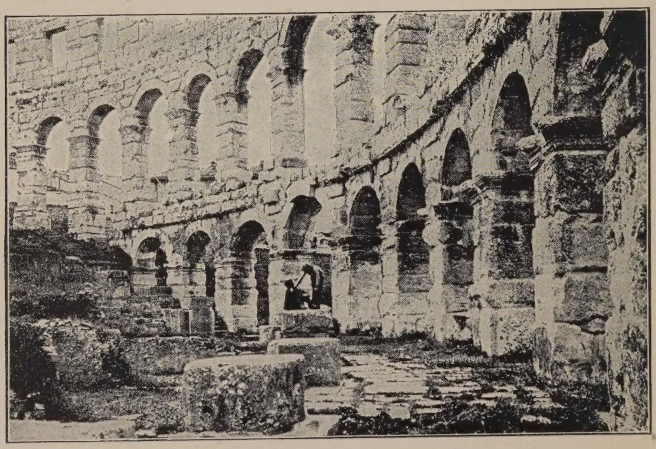
cheeks. They can be compared to the heads on the keystones of the Augustan arches of Rimini, Fano, and other city gates in Italy, and to the heads on the Augustan gates at Pola and on the recently discovered memorial gate of Trajan at Asseria, in Dalmatia itself, which I shall describe later. These heads have never been identified, but I believe my suggestion is the only tenable explanation. Their prototypes can be seen on Etruscan gates; I have already described those at Perugia and Falerii.

An interesting and also unrecognized Augustan monument in Trieste (restored between 50 and 60 A.D.) is the principal temple, which was used for the earliest cathedral basilica. It had a double pronaos, with pilaster responds, which formed the primitive portico of this basilica, and which in the Middle Ages was used for the foundations of the campanile which projects beyond one end of the church façade. Hidden within the lower, hollow part of this campanile we can study what still remains of the columns and pilasters of pure early workmanship. It certainly was the Capitolium of the Augustan colony.

Pola

But it is in Pola that we find the most spectacular group of Roman monuments. To any





Pola, Amphitheater: section (restored), detail and interior (Durm)

Plate XLVII

one who has stood on the hillside back of the great amphitheater and watched the golden glint on the bay at sunset through its arcades, or who has seen it at the same hour from the water, rising luminous and ethereal, there is no amphitheater in the Roman world, even the Coliseum, that gives as keen a thrill of artistic delight. The very barbarous gutting of its interior by the medieval Venetians, to use its blocks of famous Istrian stone for building material in Venice, has heightened its unique beauty by turning the arcades of the enclosure, which are in perfect preservation, into as many symmetrical picture frames. One cannot, however, claim an Augustan date for this amphitheater, as for that of Salona; the attribution to the time of the Antonines is in harmony with its style.

But the rest of the Roman architecture of Pola is almost certainly of the Augustan era; the city gates, the Colony Arch, and the Capitolium, or Temple of Rome and Augustus, all bear the marks of this time. To me the most interesting was, of course, the Arch, called Porta Aurea, or Arch of the Sergii. It has been more than once referred to in these pages. It fulfilled my ideal of a triumphal arch of the exquisitely simple type, where both figured and decorative sculpture were quite subservient to architectural

line and composition. It is as representative of this type as that of Orange is of the rather barbaric luxuriant sculptured type, devoid of linear distinctiveness; as that of Aosta is of the grand, Puritanical, purely architectural type; and as that of Beneventum is of the Hellenic type, where symmetry of line and richness of sculpture are perfectly blended. Certainly no local artist could have designed this arch of Pola, but one of the foremost Hellenic artists in Roman employ.

The early Augustan date of this arch is not understood; neither has it been recognized by any critic as a colony arch; but both of these facts are certain, and the first is vouched for by its inscriptions, which prove that it was built out of funds given by Salvia Postuma of the family of the Sergii, and was surmounted by statues of the men of this family, who were the first magistrates of the new colony. In the center of the attic stood the statue of Sergius Lepidus, who is described as aedile and military tribune of the Twenty-ninth Legion, and on either side were those of the brothers L. Sergius and Cn. Sergius, both aediles and duumvirs of the city. The mere fact that Sergius Lepidus was tribune of the Twenty-ninth Legion is enough to prove the Augustan date of the arch, because this legion

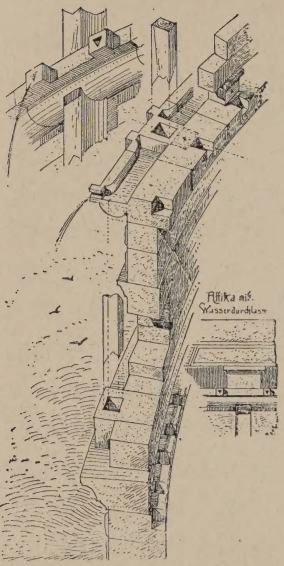
was disbanded about 30 B.C., after the battle of Actium, and went forever out of existence, together with many other legions, which were no longer needed after the close of the civil war with Marc Antony.

From other sources the date of the raising of Pola to the rank of a colony can be fixed as at any rate earlier than 27 B.C., and probably than 29 B.C., because its official name was Colonia Pietas Iulia. It is known that all the Augustan colonies founded during and after 27 B.C. were named Augusta, while the earlier ones, founded under the Triumvirs (43-30 B.C.), were named, as this one is, Julia. Further, the emphasis given to the memorial character of the foundation by the addition of the prefix *pietas,* might indicate, for the foundation of the city, the earlier part of this period, near to Caesar's death, perhaps the years just after 42 to 39 B.C., when Asinius Pollio was reconquering the country for Augustus. It may be then, *i.e.*, in the disbanding after Philippi, that Sergius brought here the veterans of the twenty-ninth legion, rather than after the battle of Actium, and became chief magistrate of the new *colonia deducta.* As for the *exact* date of the arch, it is a well-known fact that shortly after 27 B.C., when Augustus had worked out a permanent constitution for the empire, making him

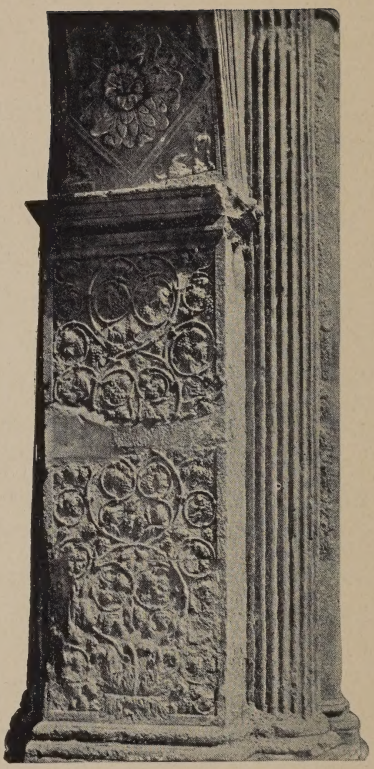
absolute ruler, the statecraft of the new régime required the recognition of the divine transcendency of the Emperor, and the dedication to him alone of all public monuments, especially such records of the establishment of Roman civic rule as these arches. After this time no dedications of public buildings to private individuals were permitted by law: such arches as those of the Sergii at Pola, the Gavii at Verona, the Julii at S. Remy, and the Campani at Aix-les-Bains, are, therefore, all earlier in date. History and politics are the indispensable illuminators of archaeology. For these reasons Graef's ascription of this Pola arch to the age of Trajan is a simple impossibility. Even artistically he proved to be wrong, for the exquisite scroll-decoration of the inside pilasters is purely Augustan, as is every other feature.

The arch that resembles it most closely in the style both of its pilasters and of the victories in the spandrels, is that of Cavaillon in Southern France, which in my opinion is also early Augustan. Might not some of the neo-Hellenic artists of Provence be responsible for the arch of Pola?

For some reason which we cannot now understand this arch was placed not outside the walls, on the *pomerium* line, but inside the main city gate, the triple arched, so-called Porta Miner-



Pola, Detail of Amphitheater, showing method for use of Awning (Durm)



Pola, Detail of right pier of Colony Arch

via.[1] It cannot have been moved here from outside the walls to preserve it, at the time of some barbarian invasion. It was made to form the inner face of the court of this gateway. Only from old lithographs and prints can we understand this arrangement, for the ignorant "archaeologist," who undertook the early restorations at Pola, in 1826, thought the Augustan city gate was medieval and tore it down. It must have been the Porta Praetoria of the original colony, and its keystone had the bust of the protecting goddess of the city, whom the local archaeologists dubbed Minerva. Fortunately, several other primitive city gates remain: the simple, single-arched Porta Herculea, so-called from the youthful, heroic head and greaves on the keystone; the more architectural, double-arched Porta Gemina; and a small gateway leading to the Forum, or Capitolium, of the Augustan city. The Porta Herculea is built with so extraordinary a diagonal archway that it is quite evident the road, the limits, and shape of the city had been determined before its construction, as was the case, for instance, with one of the gates at Pompeii.

In the interesting congeries of fragments in-

[1]Another explanation would be that here at Pola, as was sometimes the case, there was no pomerium strip outside the walls, which were built just inside the pomerium ditch.

side and around the temple of Augustus, which has been transformed into a Roman museum, there are several sections of friezes that belonged to architectural monuments of a triumphal character. One series hints at another arch like that of the Sergii, with its frieze of arms and armor, its vessel's prow and oar, pointing in the same fashion as it does to both naval and military victories, such as were those of Augustus over Antony. Another section of frieze, divided into triglyphs and metopes, has in each metope a group of arms or armor, some of Gallic character. All this accentuates the military position of the city's founders.

The temple itself, dedicated to Rome and Augustus, is still a splendid specimen of Augustan art. Originally it was a double temple of the type familiar from monuments of a later date, in different colonies of the Roman world. The two stood side by side in a sacred inclosure, with a space between them, and represented the imperial equivalent of the Roman Capitolium, the worship of Dea Roma, and of Augustus, the viceroy of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Old prints show how much more remained over a century ago. One of the façades is still superbly intact, with four very high Corinthian columns supporting the gable, and two others at the ends,

in front of the *antae*, forming the customary deep Roman portico. The details of the ornamentation of the gable are particularly perfect and among the none too numerous bits of pure Augustan temple detail.

If so much still remains of Pola, it is because, when the engineers of Napoleon I. visited it and pronounced it the greatest military harbor of the Adriatic, it was practically an abandoned town, with a few hundred inhabitants, and had been so since the close of the Middle Ages. Whatever devastation has been wrought has been in about a century.

Fiume and Zara

Pola was at the tip end of the Istrian Peninsula. It was for a time the last city in Italy before one reached the frontier of Illyria. If we pass eastward, we find at the point where Istria melts into the long line of the Dalmatian coast, Fiume, which occupies, at the head of Quarnero Bay, a corresponding place to that taken by Trieste on the other (western) edge of the peninsula. That it was a port and a colony in Augustan times, under the name of Tarsatica, would appear from the only standing relic of the ancient city, a much mutilated arch facing the bay, which in its lines speaks of an Augustan origin,

as the city gate facing the port, though not the colony arch.

Passing southward along the Dalmatian coast, we come to Zara, about half-way between Fiume and Salona. The Roman city here was called Iader. At present the medieval city, with its unique Byzantine domical church of S. Donato and its florid Romanesque cathedral, rather overpowers the Roman remains, but I was able to find enough data to reconstitute some part of the Augustan Iader.

Long before the time of Augustus there had been here a considerable settlement of Italian traders. Augustus gave it city rights and built its walls, with the towers and gates. At each of the main gates was the following inscription: "IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS PARENS. COLONIAE MVRVM (ET) TVRRES DEDIT." Several points in this inscription indicate a very early date: the absence of tribunician and consular notations, and the title of *parens coloniae,* "patron of the city." One of these inscriptions was carried away from Zara some centuries ago; strayed to Venice in 1721, was bought by the famous Maffei, and is now in his collection in the Museum of Verona. A second one is in the museum of S. Donato, in Zara itself.

The gates themselves have disappeared, and

only false hopes are excited by a so-called Roman arch called Arch of Bassus, a bubble I am forced to prick, for it is a medley of pieces put together in the Renaissance, the old inscription belonging to the entrance of the market-place built out of funds left by Melia Anniana, and in honor of her husband, Sergius Bassus. Only the upper part of the arcade, with this inscription, is of Roman work.

I am glad to be able, quite unexpectedly, to resurrect the real Colony Arch of the Augustan City, with the help of information furnished me by Prof. Smirich, who was present when its ruins were excavated in 1884, but who did not realize the significance of the arch. It stood, facing toward the northeast, on the landward side of the city, in a little square near the present Church of S. Simone, close to the ruins of a temple. The excavations were not carried down so far as the original level, which is eight or nine feet below the present street level, but far enough to show the plan and style of the arch, part of which was, however, hidden under the wall of a house. After drawings had been made, and a few architectural fragments removed, the excavation was filled in. The arch was triple, the two central piers being decorated with two engaged shafts, while the two outer piers had but

a single shaft in the center of a very narrow face of masonry. The central piers, with their two shafts so closely spaced as to make any sculpture between them impossible, are almost exactly of the proportions of the arch of the Sergii at Pola. The main central arch was surmounted by a gable, as is so commonly the case in other Augustan arches, and the crowning cornice was both rich and exquisite. All the ear-marks are Augustan; the masonry, of very fine local Meleda stone, is extremely careful and close jointed. The pieces now in the museum of S. Donato are of excellent workmanship. In the Constantinian era the fortifications of Zara were renovated, as were those of Salona, with the use of the typical wedge-shaped towers, and the arch was then brought into connection with the fortifications, if not before. In a letter to the *Nation* I suggested that it would be interesting to reopen the trench, make a careful survey, and extract more of the architecture. Since then this has been done and the foundations again laid bare.

This is not the only Augustan work at Zara. The Byzantine church of S. Donato, now the museum, was built on a mass of ruins, probably of the Forum and its Capitolium. Some of them are of Augustan character, including a famous inscription to Livia as Juno, but there is nothing

left *in situ* above ground. We can only conjecture that to these buildings belonged a couple of columns still standing in the town squares.

Other sites probably would yield Augustan remains—Narona, Burnum, Andetrium, Corinium, Delminium, Epitaurum, Emona. But there has been no activity on the part of the Austrian Government in uncovering their ruins. Only in one case, I believe, at Asseria, were regular excavations of any importance begun, and of these I shall speak in the next chapter.

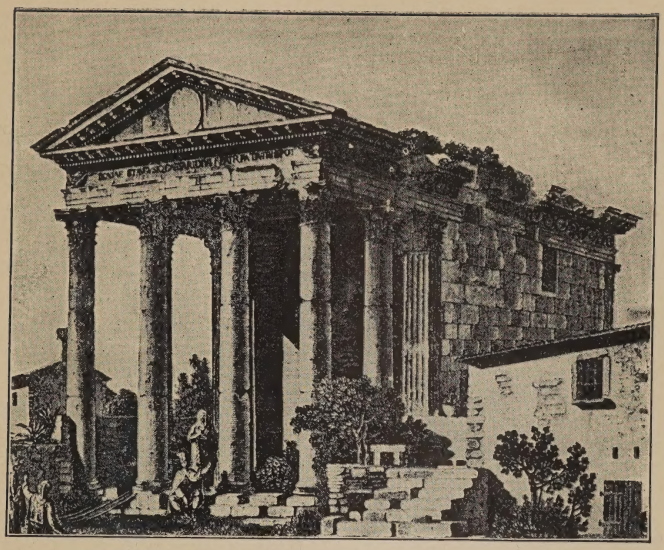
Asseria and Trajan's Route to Dacia

Perhaps the most jealously guarded of the recent excavations by the Austrian Government Commission is that of the ancient city of Asseria, at Podgradje, near Bencovac, in the central part of the interior of Dalmatia. The city was founded long before the Roman conquest by some Greek colonists, who preferred to settle inland rather than, like the great majority of their countrymen, on the islands and the coast, where they founded the mother colony of Issa, its offshoots Epetion and Tragurion, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in the south, Epitaurum, and several others. More exposed to attack by the native Illyrian tribes, Asseria was probably fortified from the beginning, perhaps in the third

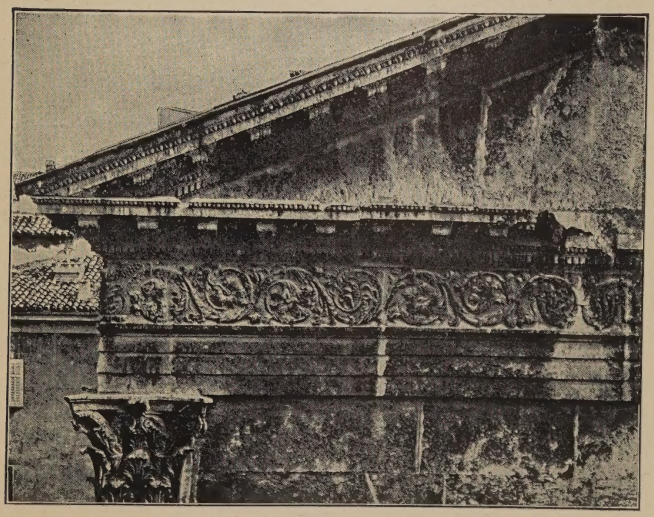
century B.C., and its walls are now among the most extensive remaining traces of the Greek race in Dalmatia. The city was one of the main inland centers of civilization, and also appears in the annals of Roman conquest and occupation as an early storm center.

Some years ago reports of casual discoveries on the site led the Central Archaeological Commission at Vienna to decide on excavations. The leading archaeologist and the architect in charge (Wilberg) were sent from Vienna; a young native archaeologist from Zara was attached to the party as assistant, partly because of his local knowledge, partly because the objects found would naturally go to the museum of Zara, the nearest Dalmatian city. Another Dalmatian archaeologist, now attached to the museum of Trieste, also took part. The photographs and drawings are hoarded in Vienna. The results appear to have been disappointing. I was told that the work was somewhat bungled. No official report—no report of any sort—had been published until last year, when a brief synopsis appeared in the official Austrian quarterly, some time after I had called attention in the New York *Nation* to this long silence of over ten years.

We know that at some period under the Empire Asseria passed from the condition of a



Pola, Temple of Augustus, from old print (Cassas)



Pola, Temple of Augustus: detail of gable (Wlha)

Plate XLIX

municipality to that of a colony. Perhaps this gate commemorated the change, as was so often the case.

The architectural fragments unearthed were nearly all left on the ground, and have been destroyed by the neighboring villagers or used as building material. One discovery of extreme interest was certainly made. It is that of a memorial gate to the Emperor Trajan, erected to him in 113 by his praetorian prefect, or military commander of the province, P. Atilius Aebutianus, and dedicated, with a banquet, by Laelius Proculus, for the city.

It is evident at first sight that the gateway is much later than the walls, which are constructed of immense blocks of stone, somewhat bossed and rusticated. The wall was broken in order to insert the gate, which was made to project somewhat on the left, and to recede on the right side, in rather awkward fashion. In its form, this gateway, with its single arcade, has more the appearance of a memorial arch than of a city gate, and should be considered in this light. The restoration of it which is given in the Austrian report is not altogether satisfactory, nor is any reference made to the importance of the use of free-standing columns on its façade.

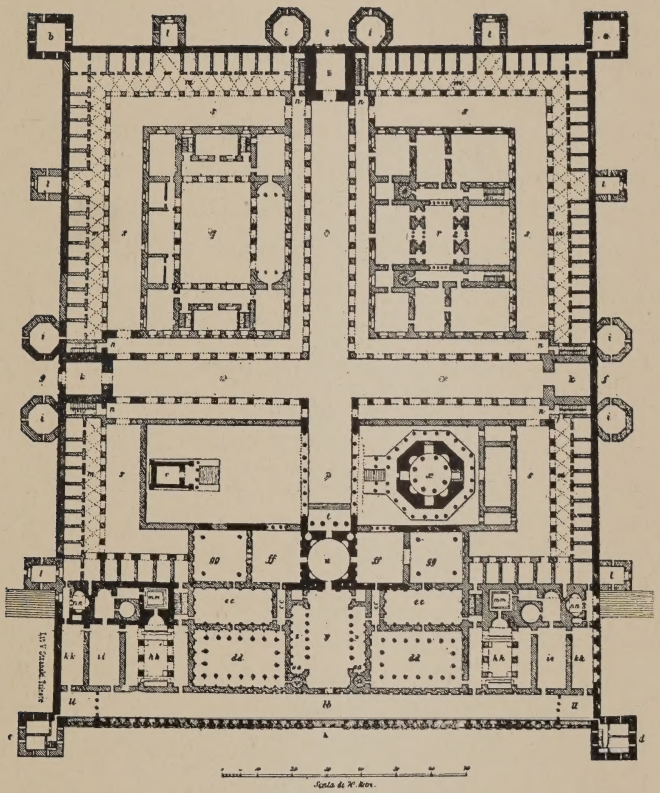
The gate was still standing to a height of be-

tween fourteen and fifteen feet, and all the elements of the upper structure were found lying at the base. The principal or outer face, looking toward the country, had a double attic with a double inscription: one that of the dedicator, the other that of Trajan. Both inscriptions are now at Zara. Below the attics the projecting cornice and frieze were supported by four free-standing columns forming the "order," while two smaller engaged shafts framed the opening and supported its archivolts. To the free columns resting on a high common base corresponded wall-pilasters on each of the two piers which they framed. On the other side of the arch, facing the city, the columns are not free but engaged. Of sculpture there is no trace beyond the usual decorative work and two remarkable colossal heads in very high relief, usually attributed to the two keystones—one a bull-protoma and the other a head of a youthful deity with rams' horns and a nascent beard; emblems of the city which find their counterpart in many other Roman city gates, as I have shown in connection with Trieste. The restoration places them, erroneously, I believe, at the springs of the arch.

But what is of unique interest, architecturally, is *the use of free-standing columns* on the main façade. There has been quite a discussion as to

when they were introduced to replace the engaged shafts, producing greater effects of light and shade and new relations of form, through the overhanging attics which they supported. The so-called Arch of Drusus in Rome had them, but they are an addition of Caracalla; the most popular use of them for the general student is, of course, in the arches of Septimus Severus and Constantine in Rome. But hitherto no example has been found earlier than Hadrian, Trajan's successor; and even his arch at Athens, which has them, may not have been built until after his death. For a while it was thought that Trajan introduced them, on the strength of his arch at Timgad in North Africa, but it is now known that this arch was not built in Trajan's time, but in that of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. At Beneventum the arch of Trajan still has engaged shafts, and it was built in 114. But a year earlier, in 113, here at Asseria, the imperial architect—he cannot have been a native, but one of the military or government official architects attached perhaps to a legion, and a pupil of Apollodorus,—introduced this innovation. At least, until further discoveries cast this arch down from its pinnacle it is the banner-arch of the free-standing columns, the earliest remaining model of this new type which was to become the

most popular of all classes of memorial arches. As Apollodorus built the famous bridge over the Danube and was associated with Trajan's Dacian campaigns, he may have designed the Asseria arch. At the same time I believe I have discovered the source of the Asseria design, the destroyed original triumphal arch built in Rome in honor of Trajan a few years before, in about 107 A.D., as a memorial of the Conquest of Dacia, just before the building of the Forum of Trajan. The coins which portray this Dacian arch show very plainly that it has free-standing columns supporting a broken architrave. Its designer and the inventor of this type is likely to have been, therefore, Apollodorus of Damascus, the famous architect and engineer of Trajan. Still, as this use of coin pictures may be considered a slightly uncertain form of proof, the Asseria gate may be regarded as the earliest monumental embodiment of the new design. How important the innovation was, all designers will understand. By giving greater play of light and shade, more overhang to the main entablature and heavy breaks in its continuity, it introduced an element of picturesqueness that was valuable and could be extended to other designs. It is only one of several debts that Rome owes to Syrian architecture.



Spalato, Plan of Palace of Diocletian as restored by Adam

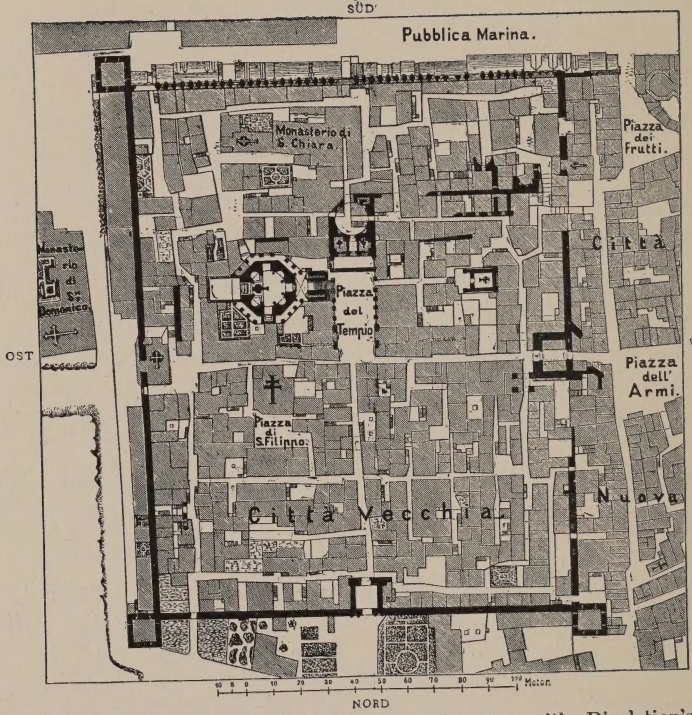
Plate I.

But this gate is interesting for historical and military, as well as architectural, reasons. It bears on the question whether, in his second and principal Dacian war, Trajan reached the Danube by way of Dalmatia. This theory has been so scorned by several of those who have made a long and careful study of Trajan's Dacian wars, by authorities such as Cichorius and Furtwängler, that I hesitated to support it. But while I cannot here discuss the theories as to sea and land routes, I can indicate some of the reasons for supposing that Trajan actually carried his army to the Danube through central Dalmatia and its *hinterland.*

We know that Trajan's first war in 101 and 102 A.D. was not one of conquest, but aimed at making of Dacia and the land across the Danube, a client state under the general suzerainty of Rome, a sort of Transvaal, instead of a center of hostile raids across the river. But when Trajan, some time after Dacia had submitted, had convinced himself in 103 and 104 that Decebalus and Dacia were not honest in their professions of peace and were secretly preparing for hostility, he determined on a war of conquest, and on carrying the Roman border across the river. He completed, meanwhile, the permanent bridge across the Danube, which even pre-

viously had been in temporary use, perfected the network of military roads in the Danubian provinces and founded certain military colonies. A larger army was needed than for the first war.

The help as to his route which one gets from the reliefs on the column is only partial. Trajan started from Rome. The first rendezvous was at the main port on the upper Adriatic, Ancona, where a beautiful memorial arch still testifies to Trajan's enlargement of its harbor, probably in view of this very need, though the work was not completed till a decade later. As only a part of the army needed to be carried from Italy—the bulk being formed of the legions stationed further north and west—the problem of taking them across the Adriatic was not arduous. In the sculptured historic scenes of the war on the column we see the scene of embarkation at the port, near the arch which, as at present, adjoins the quay: the whole topography of the scene in the relief fits into that of Ancona, including the temple on the heights. But where are the troops bound? One wild theory takes them on vessels as far as the Bosphorus. I agree with Professor Bulic and with Petersen in thinking that Trajan carried the troops almost straight across to Salona, which was not only the nearest large port, but the central starting point for the main



Spalato, plan of modern town in connection with Diocletian's Palace

Plate LI

network of Dalmatian roads connecting both with the garrison camps and the valley of the Middle Danube, which Trajan wished to reach directly. For confirmation of this theory, it would be natural to look for some record of repairs on the Dalmatian military roads by Trajan in view of this march. We know how forehanded he was in this particular; how he had the great road along the Danube through the Iron Gates constructed in 100, a year before the first Dacian war, and how he set Apollodorus at work on the great bridge over the Danube in 101. So it is without surprise, that we see in the C. I. L. and in the Dalmatian *Bollettino* of Bulic, the inscribed milestones from this region that prove Trajan's restoration of the roads, one of them near Salona itself at Trau, relating to the *Via munita* along the coast.

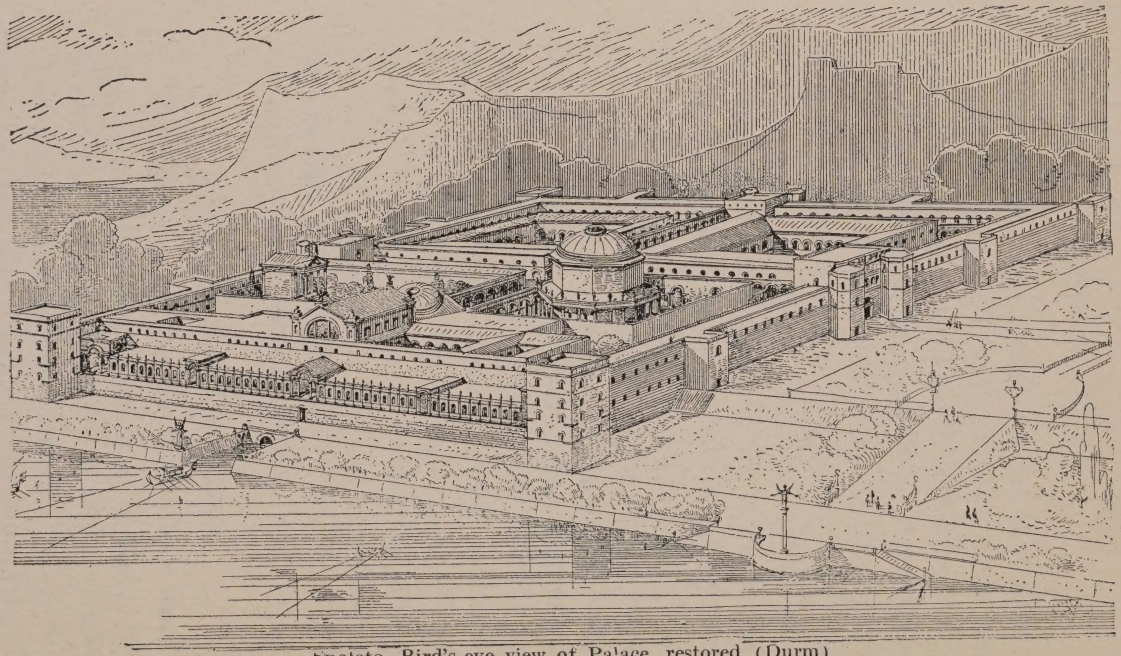
Trajan's stay in Dalmatia and its connection with the Dacian campaign is shown in various ways: by buildings and engineering works like the aqueduct at Zara, by the monuments of soldiers and veterans scattered over the whole province, including those of men who did not belong to the corps regularly stationed in Dalmatia, but who took part in this campaign. Picking up the Pannonian and Moesian legions on his way to the northeast; and appointing a rendezvous for

the Germanic legions and the rest that were to come from the west, Trajan probably spent some time on this side of the Danube before crossing; though the triumphal monument at Adam-Klissi in the Dobrudscha rather indicates the location of some big battle in the days before the Dacian war than any event of this time. Whether in starting from Salona he took the more northern route via Burnum and Asseria or the more southern route, by the Drin valley, I would not venture to suggest without further study of the region; but does not the memorial arch-gate at Asseria, though erected several years after, suggest that Trajan may have passed this way? In any case, there is cumulative circumstantial evidence in favor of the theory that Trajan selected some route through Dalmatia as the shortest and safest way of reaching his field of operations and that he had been preparing for this by putting the highways and ports in repair.

Spalato and Diocletian

The lowest point on the Dalmatian coast to show important Roman ruins is Spalato, which is also the landing-place for a visit to Salona. The ancient conditions are reversed. Salona was then a great city; Spalato a late imperial palace built three miles away, beyond its suburbs. Now

Plate III



Spalato, Bird's-eye view of Palace, restored (Durm)
(The Esplanade is an error: the sea originally lapped the façade)

we stop at a hotel in Spalato and drive in a hack to the ruins of Salona, fortunate if we can have the guidance of the prince of Dalmatian archaeologists, Mgr. Bulic, whose home is Spalato. As Salona embodied Augustus and the beginnings of the Empire, Spalato typifies Diocletian and its twilight. It is almost like a night-blooming cereus, a splendid, lurid flower, unused to the light of day but superb in tone and outline.

One is fairly tempted to say that Spalato is the best remaining embodiment of late Roman ideals. In the first place it is thoroughly cosmopolitan, representing many races and centuries both as heir and progenitor, with one hand stretched out to Rome and the other to the Middle Ages. In its plan and system it embodies the militarism and centralization so characteristic of Diocletian. It accentuates the Oriental idea of the separation of the sexes in its double parallel apartments, and in this as well as in its style illustrates the Eastward tendency of the emperors of the third century which was soon to culminate in the founding of Constantinople. The artists who built Spalato may have been in fact more thoroughly Oriental, than those who built Constantinople.

Earlier emperors left their palaces on the Roman Palatine. Diocletian cared little for

Rome and had never lived there. Born at Salona in a land always in the debatable zone between East and West,—part Roman and part Byzantine,—Diocletian seems like the Colossus of Rhodes, with one foot in each of these opposing spheres. By temperament thoroughly Oriental and therefore despotic; by experience a military precisian; by education an indefatigable worker in a way quite un-Oriental, he became the most logical, and the ultimate centralizer, among the emperors. His success was partly due to the hypnotism exercised by absolute fearlessness. He never showed it more clearly than when he chose to abdicate of his own free will at a time long previously planned, amid perfect peace, and leaving the empire in the hands of men of his own choice. He then came to Spalato.

In approaching Spalato after rounding the island of Bua one can hardly feel its original atmosphere without eliminating a few modern buildings that disfigure the left side of the ancient site. The natural surroundings are superb, with Mount Mossor as a background and the rocky foothills reaching almost to the shore to frame the enormous bulk of Diocletian's palace, with its southern façade crowning the water's edge.

This is both the palace and the tomb of the

Plate LIII

Spalato, Sea-front of Palace of Diocletian as it existed in the XVIII century (Adam)

last really great emperor. As we skirt its water-front for about six hundred feet we gradually understand that there is no parallel to what we are seeing: a medieval city of nearly twenty thousand people built largely inside the walls of an imperial fortified villa-palace, planned like a military camp and yet a monument of luxury and magnificence.

We can leave our baggage at a modern hotel recently opened, *mirabile dictu,* by a Philadelphian, and avoiding the distractions of medieval details and native costumes, project ourselves into a monument which will give us a more arresting sense of imperial despotism than the scattered and bald ruins of the palaces of the Caesars in Rome. In doing this we can still follow the restoration made by the English architect Adam more than a century ago, with the help of the modern plan.

As usual, the ancient level is considerably below the modern street, so that it is only in the excavated area about the mausoleum that the original proportions and effects can be judged. The land slopes gradually upward from the sea, so that the shoreward façade is considerably the highest.

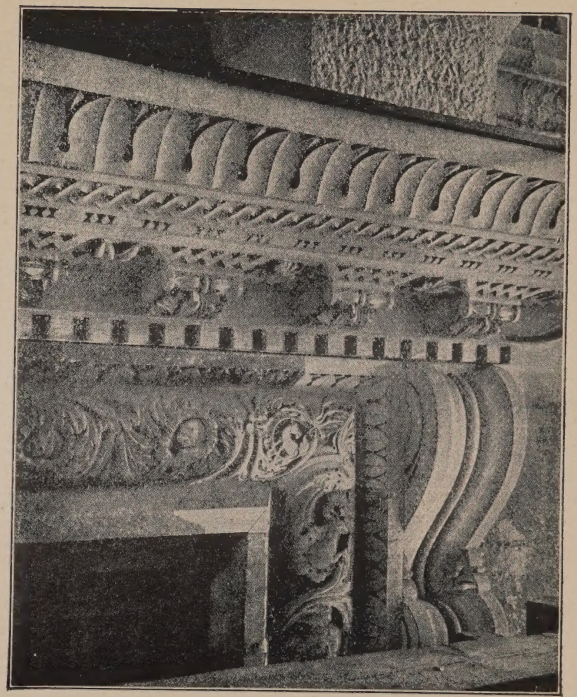
The rectangular plan, in place of the square, is borrowed from the typical permanent Roman

camp, as it had been borrowed in the fortified cities of the Augustan age such as Aosta and Turin. From the camp is also copied the general scheme of the plan, with its division into four main sections by two intersecting avenues—the *decumanus* (east-west) and *cardus* (north-south) —each ending in a gateway flanked by projecting octagonal towers. The defense is completed by square towers at the four corners and by smaller towers between them and the gates.

The Porta Aurea, by which we will enter the palace, corresponded really to the "Porta Decumana" of the camp, though it is on the north. It somewhat resembles a triumphal arch, with its niches to contain statues and busts. At the same time it embodies striking premonitions of medieval design in the arcades surrounding these niches in which we can see in embryo the arcades that formed the main outside ornament of so many Lombard and Tuscan as well as of some Byzantine churches. No other Roman monument of the West foreshadows this scheme! It is said that the imperial sculptures in the niches were destroyed by the hordes of the fifth century.

The other gates were plainer: the water gate ("Porta Aenea"), was necessarily insignificant, the "Porta Argentea" on the east is destroyed but the "Porta Ferrea" on the west is well preserved.

Spalato, Porta Aurea, half-buried (Wlha)



Spalato, Detail of Doorway of Mausoleum

Aside from these two gates there are four principal architectural masterpieces inside the walls: the arcaded court, the mausoleum of Diocletian, the temple of "Æsculapius," and the vestibule of the throne room.

The northern half of the palace, facing inland, was given up to the rank and file of the large imperial household and to stores, in the same way as this part of the camp was assigned to the common soldiery. In the southern half of the camp the "praetorium" stood, the headquarters and administrative buildings, and the quarters for the staff, the imperial guard and other select troops. In the palace plan this scheme was carried out: the vestibule and imperial throne room stand at the end of the avenue where the "praetorium" would be and beyond it the dining and reception halls flanked on either side by the apartments for the emperor and his suite and guests. Through the large central hall one reached the long covered gallery or "cryptoporticus" overlooking the sea, which extended along the entire southern façade.

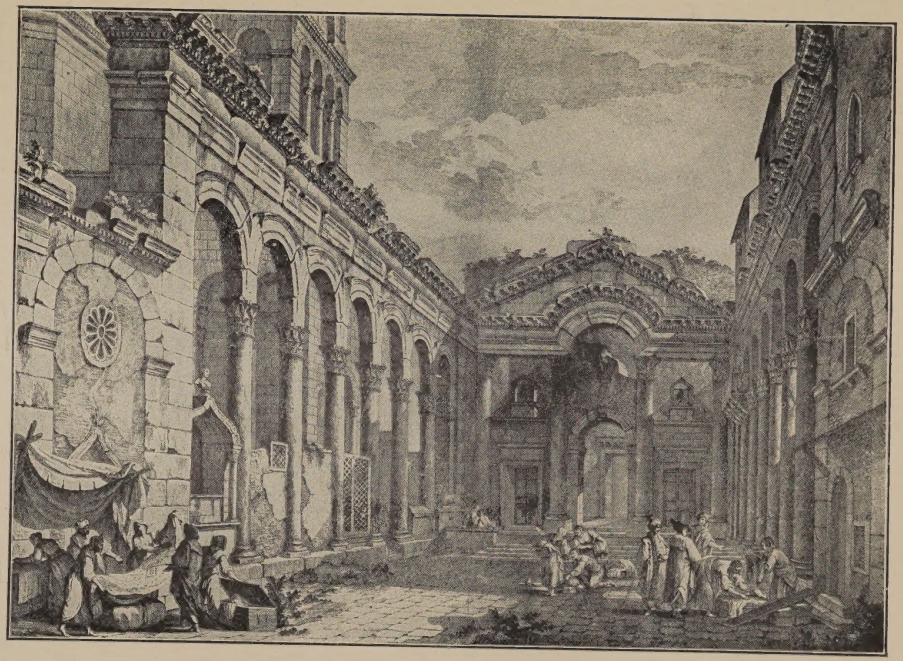
The area inclosed by the walls is a trifle under ten acres, with sides measuring 570 feet from east to west and about 700 feet from north to south. Though the walls are 70 feet high along the sea line and 50 feet on the land side, they

hardly show their height. The sea has now withdrawn itself but it originally more than lapped the wall below the long gallery, giving it an effect as of a magnified Venetian palace on the Grand Canal. A large watergate opened in the center and boats could enter directly into the lower part of the palace.

The gallery is now closed, but there is no difficulty in reconstructing its original appearance if we eliminate the walls that fill up the more than fifty intercolumniations and arcades. There was no monotony. The design was diversified by three arcades which broke the long architrave and are among the characteristic unclassic and Oriental features of the palace. The old print which is here reproduced helps one's imagination. I do not know of any similar work of ancient architecture on such a large scale and so well preserved.

The other façades, with their towers and plain walls, were purely military, except for the statuary and other decorations of the Porta Aurea, the main entrance on the land side.

After entering by the "Porta Aurea" we pass through the entire northern section along the central street without seeing hardly a trace of Roman work, but as soon as we reach the central cross street, the scene changes abruptly, as



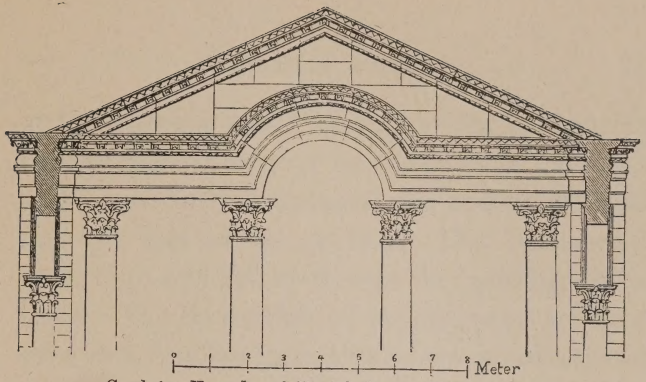
Spalato, Court of Palace (Adam)
(From old print showing fragments of grill between columns)

we come to the arcaded court. In the original design the arcades were open on both sides, there being only a low parapet between the columns. On the right one caught a glimpse of the temple of "Aesculapius" standing isolated in the center of its little square, and on the left, in another square, the concentric mausoleum. Immediately in front was the façade of the throne room. A volume could be written on these four works, because they are not only so well-preserved but are historically so pregnant with interest.

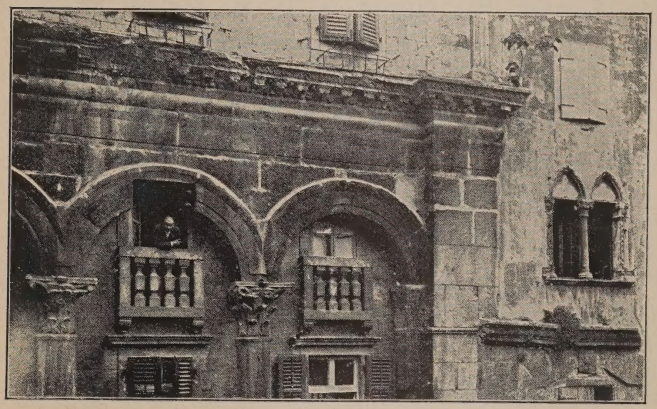
It is true, the court has suffered eclipse by the buildings which, beginning in the seventh or eighth century, have closed its arcades. But they remain a classic and noted example cited in every text-book; the earliest use of lines of free-standing arcades resting on columns. For the first time the old straight architrave is discarded. Here we find the source and type of the arcaded interiors of the early Christian basilicas, built soon after under Constantine, some of which had architraves while others had these lines of arcades on either side of the nave. One could therefore not unreasonably conclude that the arcade came into Christian churches from some Oriental school of architecture, because, as we shall see, the palace was the work of men from Syria or Asia Minor.

This appears very clearly in the little façade of the throne room. The base of the gable in classic architecture is formed by a straight cornice and entablature. But here the arch is introduced to occupy nearly the entire space. This broken gable space is characteristic of temples in Syria, Cilicia and eastern Asia Minor, and if we find it in a few scattered instances in the West, in Spain or Italy it is in late works that imitate Oriental models. It is interesting to find it in the remains of the palace built for Diocletian's colleague Maximian in Milan, now annexed to the church of S. Lorenzo. Sixteen large columns of its façade remain, their long architrave broken in the middle by an arch. The design is almost identical with that of the Spalato water-front, and was perhaps the work of the same architects. This same broken architrave appeared three times, we have seen, in the cryptoporticos; so it is a characteristic of our palace, which thus illustrates not only the complete change from architrave to arcade in the court but the earlier transitional stage which had been practised for at least two centuries in the East.

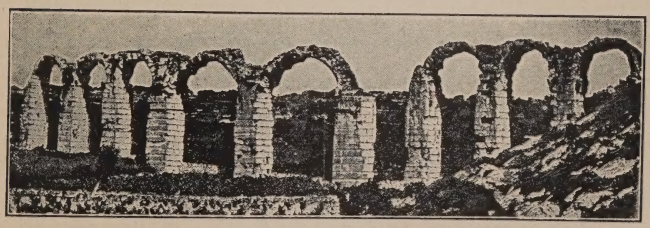
The temple on the right is the imperial place of worship, corresponding to the chapel in the medieval palace fortress, and to the papal chapel



Spalato, Façade of Vestibule of Throne-room



Spalato, Detail of Court (Wlha)



Spalato (near), Aqueduct

at the Lateran and Vatican. It has perhaps the best preserved cella of any temple in existence, so we can overlook its small size and rough finish and the loss of its portico. The basement is quite high and rather throws the building out of scale. The decoration of the doorway is almost over rich, but the proportions are so effective as to exclude any "barocco" effect. The tradition which makes of it a temple of Esculapius seems to be baseless and not earlier than the thirteenth century. The thunderbolts on the corbels and the eagles seem to me good reasons for calling it a temple of Jupiter. This is quite a logical inference, because Jupiter was Diocletian's patron: his epithet was "Jovius" in the same way as that of his colleague Maximian was "Herculeus." After Diocletian's death the palace was called *Jovense*.

The photograph of the tunnel-vault which covers the cella shows a perfect example of rich coffered vaulting, better preserved than its main rivals in a few of the triumphal arches.

Finally, we reach the gem of the palace, the mausoleum of Diocletian. It was a strange idea of the emperor to be buried in his own house, but there can be no doubt that he planned it from the beginning, and that his body rested here in a porphyry sarcophagus placed, probably, under

the center of the dome. A casual visitor is hardly likely to remember that this is the only well preserved imperial tomb in existence. The mausoleum of Augustus and his successors and their families is now a formless mound. Of the mausoleum of Hadrian which held the imperial remains of the second and early part of the third century, only the mutilated and transformed shell remains. The emperors buried not in family memorials but in special sepulchers have fared even worse. We must pass to the times immediately following Diocletian to find single quasi-imperial tombs in any preservation; of these the tomb of Helena, mother of Constantine, near Rome, has lost everything but part of its bare brickwork, and those of her granddaughter Constantia and of Romulus Augustulus have been transformed.

This mausoleum of Diocletian stands pre-eminent in preserving not only its entire structure but practically all of its decoration. Hardly any ancient monument of any class is so intact. Also as a type it is extremely valuable. It is the heir of the early circular tombs of Asia Minor and Etruria and the progenitor of the Christian baptistery. The structure of its dome, with fan-shaped interdependent internal arches in the masonry, is perhaps unique, and much discussed

Spalato, view from Court toward Mausoleum
(from old print in Cassas)

Plate LVII

by architects. The entire design, with its peripteral portico, its central dome and its interior order with free-standing shafts and figured frieze, may be taken as typical of a late imperial tomb.

The thorough restoration which has been carried on for so many years has had its disadvantages. A large portion of the internal details has been thrown away or transferred to the museum because they were regarded as too injured to be retained in the structure. The whiteness of the material of the new parts prevents any delusion; and, in a way the workmanship of the capitals and other details can be better seen in the museum. But, as a matter of fact, we do not care to see them in this way. They were intended for effective display in the semi-darkness of the dome at a considerable height, and were admirable for their purpose. Close study is a cruel injustice.

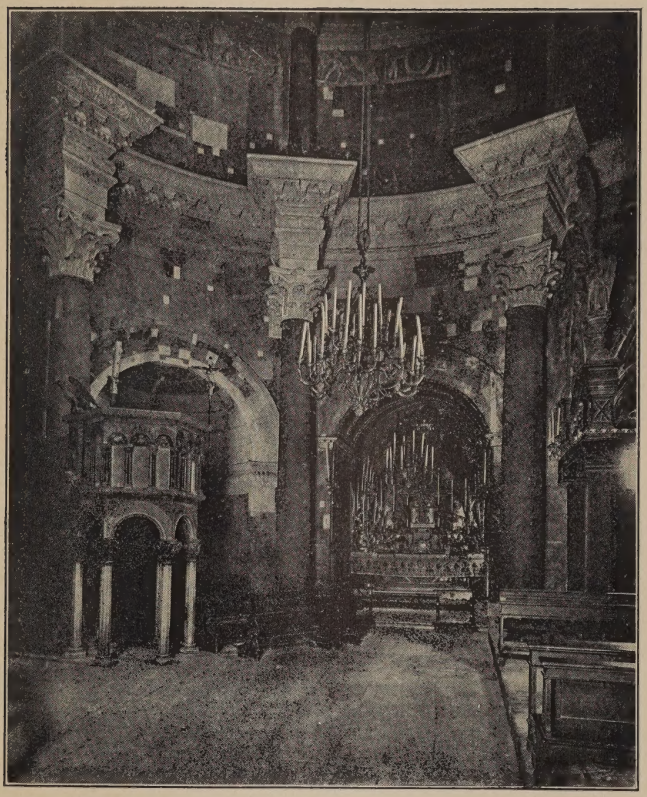
We cannot leave without a glance at the origin and history of the palace. Diocletian became emperor in 284 and a year later took as his colleague Maximian, to whom he assigned the West, keeping for himself the East, and so establishing a precedent for partition. Better to hold the empire in control, he established in 293 the famous tetrarchy, by making Galerius and

Constantius Chlorus Caesars and dividing the Roman world into four administrative sections. His reorganization of the basis of provincial administration, his perfecting of paternalism, and his superb organization of central authority are commonplaces. The other three men never questioned his supreme direction. He was training the two Caesars to the succession.

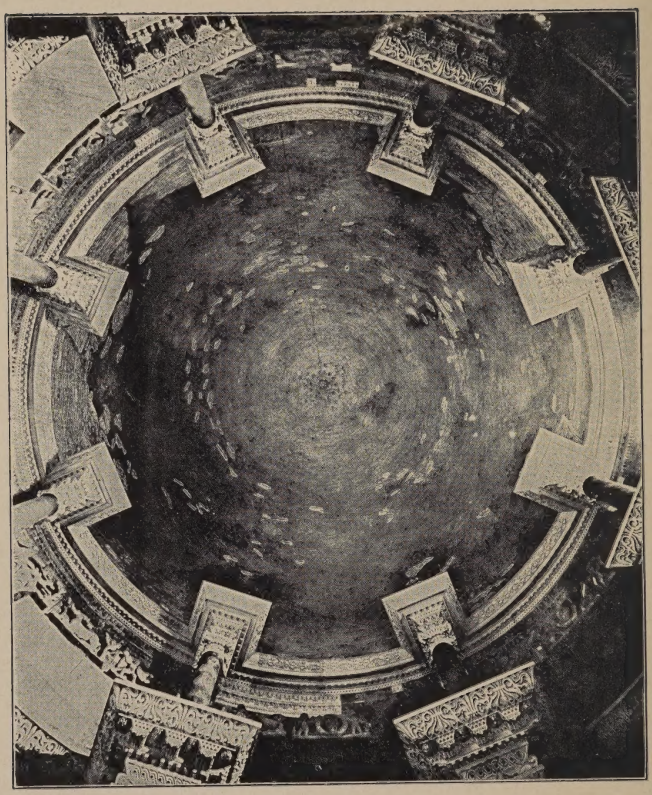
Diocletian had long planned to retire on the twentieth anniversary of his accession, at the age of 58. He announced his decision. He then put it off for a year to allow Maximian to complete his twenty years. The solemn abdication took place on May 1, 305.

It was then that Diocletian withdrew to Salona to live in the palace which was being built in a small bay near the city, under the name Aspalathos. Here he lived and "grew cabbages" until his death in 313, except for a few journeys including a long stay at Sirmium in 306, perhaps in connection with work at the quarries for the palace. He had a meeting at Sirmium in 307 when he was begged to return to power to quell increasing disorders.

We must believe that the palace had been in course of construction for a number of years before 305, even though it was not then completed. Probably it had been begun as early as 293 when



Spalato, Interior of Mausoleum (Wlha)



Spalato, Dome of Mausoleum of Diocletian (Wlha)

the two Caesars were selected as successors for himself and Maximian. The emperor had other large palaces. That at Nicomedia was the most extensive, like a superb camp. Others were at Aquileia and in the east.

The architects are unknown. From similarity to work at Palmyra and elsewhere in Syria, we may conjecture that they belonged to the school of Antioch, though the schools of Asia Minor, such as Nicomedia, need not be excluded. The two provinces had been for centuries in the closest artistic relation.

The emperor's last years, as we know, were embittered by the struggles between Maxentius, Constantine and Licinius, and, at last, by the tragic fate of his own mother and wife. After his death the palace was turned by the government into a factory for cloth weaving in which the personnel was entirely female, under official inspection. In memory of the emperor it was called *Jovense*. It was threatened and damaged by barbarian hordes in the fifth century and seems to have been abandoned. After all it was no fortress.

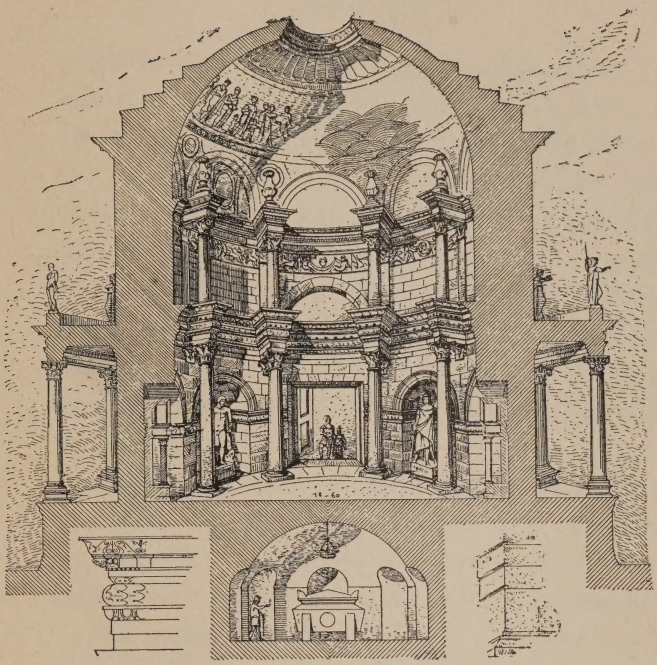
Meanwhile Salona, though threatened, had not been captured. When the final disaster came between 625 and 639 the survivors of Salona fled to the islands and the East, where they had been

preceded by most of the well-to-do, who had foreseen it. One of the patricians, though, bearing the homely name of John, established himself within the abandoned walls of the palace as soon as the storm had passed, and gathered around him many of the fugitives. A church was soon organized and its bishop received the same privileges as the ancient church of Salona. But, how desolate and impoverished was the land, a shadow of the sleek and confident past! The picture of these poor survivors burrowing among the ruins of the church of Salona for the relics to put in their new church is typical of the common ruin of the ancient culture.

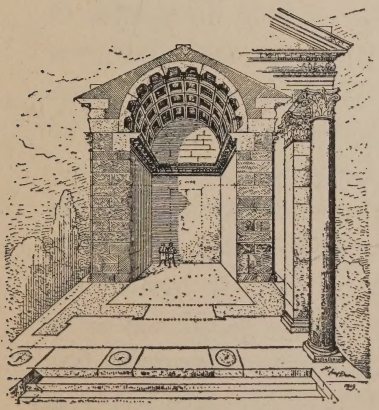
The mausoleum became the cathedral, the temple became the baptistery. The citizens easily found room inside the walls, turning the passageways and courts into streets and squares.

It was long before its magnificence was defaced. As late as the tenth century, the famous emperor and writer, Constantine Porphyrogenetos, himself a great lover and connoisseur of art, familiar with the gorgeous monuments of Constantinople and the Orient declares "that it surpassed even in its ruin all powers of description."

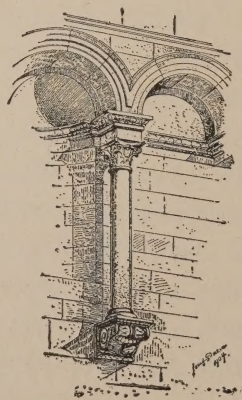
In course of time, thanks to the inspiration of the ancient monument and the pride of being the seat of religious supremacy, Spalato became



Spalato, Mausoleum of Diocletian: section



Spalato, Temple of Aesculapius



Spalato, Detail of Porta Aurea (Durm)

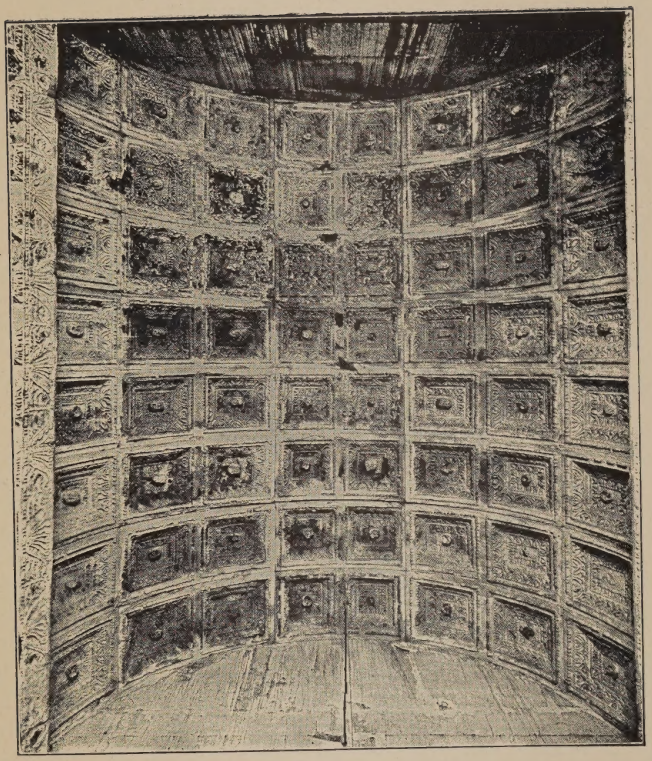
Plate LX

a power in the modest early Middle Ages. Its school of art ruled a great part of Dalmatia. Its crowning glory is the really superb campanile of the mausoleum-cathedral, and hardly less extraordinary, though less conspicuous, is the richly carved pulpit. Earlier than either and very rare of their kind are the carved doors by the native artist Andrea Guvina, dated in 1214. He was probably also the author of the extremely Oriental openwork carved wooden choir stalls, which are unequaled in the West.

Nothing is more convincing of the strength of tradition than the way in which the campanile reproduces the antique designs, and the choir stalls continue the Oriental influence of the past.

The palace has been ignored or sneered at by purists who show their narrow-minded prejudice in setting up in this connection the "bogey" of decadence because the style does not square with certain canons of perfection. This is easily laid by any person of aesthetic sense who admires composition and the play of light and shade; who can see how monumental effects can be produced, as they are here, out of very small materials. In the matter of pure construction nothing could be more original or better planned than the dome and colonnade. Historically we can best study here not only the type of funerary chapel and

the origin of the basilical interior, but also that peculiar style of decorative sculpture in flat relief or openwork in marble which forms the basis of Byzantine and early Italian design, especially the geometric work which prevailed throughout Dalmatia, Istria and nearly the whole of Italy even under the Lombards. In fact the palace is one of the indispensable landmarks of history; the latest produced by Roman imperial art.



Spalato, Tunnel Vault of Temple (Wlha)

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